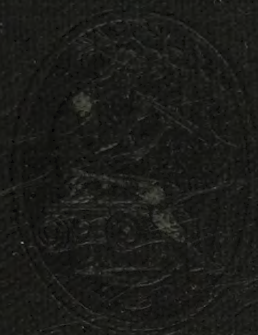
T. Jefferson Coolidge



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The Autobiography of

T. Jefferson Coolidge

T. Jefferson Coolidge

Coolidge, Thomas Jefferson
III

The Autobiography of T. Jefferson Coolidge

1831-1920

Boston and New York
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
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Note

MR. COOLIDGE gives in his opening paragraph his reasons for preparing an "Autobiography." Having written it, he caused to be printed at the Merrymount Press in 1902 forty-eight copies for distribution among the family, friends, and favored institutions. Such a record deserves wider circulation, for it occupies a quite unique position among similar careers, and has a distinct flavor of New England consciousness and success. By the courteous permission of the members of Mr. Coolidge's family his privately printed volume is now made accessible to the reading public and in just the form given it by the writer. Some typographical errors have been corrected, but apart from them the original text stands.

W. C. F.

BOSTON, *September* 15, 1923

62365

The Autobiography of T. Jefferson Coolidge

ALTHOUGH my life has been an uneventful one, there are three reasons for my making an attempt at autobiography. First, it may interest my children; secondly, be an agreeable occupation to recall in my old age the recollections of former years; and thirdly, relieve the unhappy member of the Massachusetts Historical Society to whom may be allotted after my death, as is usual in the Society, my Biography.

I was born August 26, 1831, in a small house fronting the end of Mount Vernon Street, now torn down to make way for the new State House. I was the sixth and last child of Joseph Coolidge, Jr., and Eleonora Wayles Randolph. My father was seventh in descent from John Coolidge, who settled about 1630 in Watertown, the family afterwards removing to Boston. My mother was the daughter of Thomas Mann Randolph, of Albemarle County, Virginia. Mr. Randolph had married Martha, the oldest daughter of President Jefferson, and her daughter had been brought up at Monticello, receiving her education at the knees of the great philosopher. My mother was married May 27, 1825. She had the education of a man, the morals and refinement of a woman. Through a long life, in which she met many tribulations, she showed such gentleness with so much courage, such intelligence, united with such devotion for her husband and children, as to excite in their minds the most unbounded love and

admiration. During my whole life I have never met her equal in a woman, whether in cultivation of the mind or in the performance of her duties.

My earliest recollection is of a fire which took place in our house in Bowdoin Street. We were living in a large wooden house, surrounded by a garden which, I think, extended nearly to Bowdoin Square. My grandfather lived on Bowdoin Square where the Coolidge building now stands. This was a fashionable part of the city, which I think had less than sixty thousand people, and most of the houses had gardens around them. The fire did but little damage; but the arrival of the fire engines, — drawn, I think, by men, — the playing of the hose, and the excitement impressed my youthful imagination. I slept in an ell which was attached to the house by a long passageway. I think there was no plumbing in those days; kerosene, gas, and electricity did not exist. It was the day of stoves and tallow candles, discomfort and darkness.

In 1837 I was in England at a boarding school kept by Mrs. Kickover, near London, whilst my parents travelled through Scotland. We returned to New York in the old packet "Quebec," and I recall a tempestuous passage of over sixty days. On my return, being about six years old, I recollect a visit I made to Virginia with my black nurse, who was a free woman. We took the journey in stage-coaches. The roads, particularly at the South, were poor, often knee-deep in mud, and many streams had to be forded. There were delays in changing horses, and the taverns where we stopped for food were of the rudest description. My uncle, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, lived at Edgehill, in Albemarle County, where he cultivated some twenty-five hundred acres by slave

labour. He had still old Eagle, a pet saddle-horse of President Jefferson's, who had outlived his master some few years. I was put on his back, but my strength was not sufficient to prevent the old horse from grazing, tug at his mouth as much as I could. My great-grandfather, the President, was born in 1743, and I am writing these lines in 1900; thus two lives cover a century and a half. The only other incident I recollect was the flogging of a slave. This man had committed theft, and Mr. Randolph brought him before the house, in front of which all the slaves were assembled, and flogged him with a horsewhip. The man did not resist, but I shall never forget the rage of my nurse and the abuse she poured out over slavery. I wonder now how indifferent the planters were to the presence of free negroes, who must have caused a very great feeling of discontent amongst the slaves.

In 1839 my parents went to China, my father to take charge of the house of Augustine Heard & Co., and my mother to keep him company, as far as that was possible. No ladies being admitted to Canton, she remained two years at Macao. Old Mr. Augustine Heard, the head of the house, had kindly undertaken, meanwhile, to take my brothers and myself to M. Briquet's school in Geneva. My sister remained in Massachusetts, my second sister being dead. Randolph, Algernon and Sidney (the two last twins), and myself made a riotous crew, and as Captain Heard knew no French, he must have wished us at our journey's end many a time. We sailed for Havre and made our way by diligence to Geneva, where we were kindly received by M. and Madame Briquet. They kept a boarding school close to the latter town at Plainpalais. Here I remained five years — I think as happy years as I have ever enjoyed, but I did not know it. I learned

French and acquired all the elements of arithmetic, geography, history, and French literature. When I left at thirteen years of age, I knew as much in many of those things as I ever did. My Latin was poor and so was my Greek. I devoted fourteen years to the study of Latin and yet could never read Horace for pleasure. In Greek, when I gave it up, I could only stammer through Homer. How infinitely better employed I should have been in studying natural history or chemistry or geology or English literature! I was a very quick boy at all my lessons, but my memory was poor and never improved although I worked hard to strengthen it. M. Briquet loved me and praised me, and good Madame Briquet took as good care of my body as he did of my mind. The only interesting feature of the school was the journeys on foot with knapsack on our backs, that we took every August through the Swiss mountains. The first few days we dragged ourselves along footsore and cut by the straps of the knapsack, but very soon we did our twenty miles a day with pleasure. In this way I wandered through almost all the passes of Switzerland and saw the Jungfrau and Mont Blanc. Of course, boys of twelve could not ascend mountains, but one would be surprised to find what the school did accomplish. I think we went over every usually travelled road in Switzerland. Twice we crossed the Rhone Glacier, but of Zermatt I never heard. I suppose it was unknown to the tourists. Agassiz must have been at that time making his experiments in the movement of the glaciers, his first work being published in 1840 and his second in '45. I do not recollect having met him on our summer excursions, but I made the acquaintance of the celebrated Sismondi, the historian of the Italian Republics. We brought letters to him from Mr. Gallatin, a

Swiss savant, who was Secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson and Madison and was sent by the United States as minister to St. Petersburg and London. He was one of the signers of the Treaty of Ghent and perhaps as distinguished a man as little Switzerland ever produced. He was a friend of my mother's, and to him we owed the attention of the Count and Countess de Sellon. They had charming daughters, one of whom was engaged to Cavour, and they treated us with a kindness which never failed. We spent many of our summer Sundays at their beautiful place La Fenêtre, on the Lake of Geneva, and in winter in the noble old house they owned near the Ramparts. There is one daughter still alive to whom I could express my thanks as late as 1892.

In 1844 my parents, having returned from China, visited us at Geneva, and Randolph and myself were sent to Dresden to enter a gymnasium kept by Dr. Blochman. We made the journey alone by stage, railroads not having been introduced. The German Empire was cut up in innumerable little duchies and kingdoms, each with a different money and an army of Lilliputian dimensions. I was too young to remember the journey. Blochman's was a large boarding house with some three hundred boys. We slept twenty in a room and for covering at night had only a feather bag which was too short to cover the feet. In winter the water froze in our rooms, the food was bad (sour bread and cabbage), and we were worked nine hours a day. We never went out except in a procession of boys with masters attending. Once a fortnight a man appeared whose duty it was to scrub us clean with hot water and soap and a cold shower bath. I learned German and but very little else; and was uncomfortable and unhappy. I suffered dreadfully from homesickness. In the spring of '47

I was delighted at receiving an order to go to Harvard College and I left for Paris, where I found my parents.

Steamboats had begun to cross the Atlantic. They were side-wheelers and took from twelve to twenty days. We considered a sailing vessel safer, and so I left Havre for New York in a bark the name of which I have forgotten. Mr. and Mrs. E. V. Childe and old Mr. Ritchie were my fellow-passengers. Mrs. Childe was the sister of Robert Lee. She had married a Boston man, but resided in preference in Paris, where her salon was much frequented. Old Mr. Ritchie, a man of talent and education, had married the daughter of Harrison Gray Otis, but the two were seldom together. My father had put me under his charge. The voyage lasted only twenty-four days. We reached New York and I went to the Astor House, then the best hotel. It was and is on Broadway not far from Canal Street. In a few days I found myself in Boston, making the acquaintance of my aunts and uncles and cousins, whom I had forgotten. I was sixteen years old and had passed ten years in Europe. My brothers were still there. I was small, very shy, spoke English with difficulty, and was totally unfit to cope with Americans and American society. My views of my countrymen had been formed in Europe. I considered them barbarous. I believed myself to belong to a superior class, and that the principle that the ignorant and poor should have the same right to make laws and govern as the educated and refined was an absurdity. It took me many years to outgrow my priggism. I had no acquaintances, still less friends. My education abroad had taught me French and German and made me unfit to be happy or successful in my own country. One or two old friends of my father's took pity on me, invited me to their

houses and treated me kindly. Amongst them were the Pratts, who lived at Oakley, near Mount Auburn. The family consisted of old Mrs. Pratt, nearly eighty, and three unmarried daughters. Their house was one of affluence and refinement and they did all that kindness and hospitality could do to make me feel a little less lonely and miserable. I recollect also with gratitude old Mr. Edmund Dwight, whose son afterwards married my sister, Mrs. Ben Gorham, and Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Gardner, whose sons were in college with me and some of my earliest friends. The youngest, J. L., now dead, married a Miss Stewart of New York, whose talents and originality have made her one of the best-known women in the United States.

I entered the Sophomore class of Harvard without difficulty; but the fact that I knew more than boys of my age usually did and that I was quick in acquiring my lessons led me to be lazy, and I learned but little the three years I was there. I graduated, I believe, seventeenth in a class of sixty-odd men. There was but one distinguished man in the class, Mr. J. C. Carter, who has been for many years at the head of the New York Bar. There were many Southerners. These generally spent much money, drank freely, and considered themselves better than the Northern mudsills; they were overbearing and quarrelsome, but brave and full of honour, although they often did not pay their debts. In short, they had the vices and virtues which are generally found with slave owners. That whole class was swept away eleven years afterwards by the Civil War.

My parents were residing in Boston and I went to live with them after my graduation. Randolph was a lawyer, Algernon a very promising physician, and I was in business.

There was no opening in politics; the places were generally filled with very ordinary men and it was really not until the war that the positions of Representatives and of Senators gave distinction. Everybody was at work trying to make money, and money was becoming the only real avenue to power and success both socially and in the regard of your fellow-men. I was ambitious and decided to devote myself to the acquisition of wealth. I went first of all to Mr. William Perkins as a clerk. Mr. P. was an old-fashioned merchant who thought that his clerks should clean out the store, handle the merchandise, copy letters, take account of cargoes; in short, that to learn business it was necessary to go through an apprenticeship of being porters. He was a man of the highest integrity, universally respected, and did a very large business all over the world but without succeeding in making a fortune.

I used to read a good deal during my spare time, and recollect going through Hallam's "Constitutional History," although it was so difficult that I limited myself to four pages a day. To give an idea of the Spartan way the clerks were treated, I was employed one cold winter day counting the shooks that came out of a schooner. In springing from the vessel to the wharf a plank gave way and I fell in the dock, which was full of floating ice. I continued, however, to count the shooks until Mr. Perkins came down to see how matters were going on. Although he found me wet through and trembling with cold, he did not say a word, and my pride was so touched by his indifference that I remained as I was until darkness allowed me to leave and go home. I did not suffer from the exposure.

I had just graduated, and I have no doubt the rough and tumble of the store knocked a good deal of nonsense out of

my head. After leaving there I was a partner with my classmate Edmund L. Baylies, and afterwards with my friend Joseph P. Gardner, under the name of Gardner and Coolidge. In the meantime, in 1852, I married the daughter of Mr. William Appleton. At that time the Lawrences and the Appletons were among the most prominent people in town. Mr. Abbott Lawrence had been sent as minister to England during my college days. He had acquired a large property in introducing the manufacture of cotton goods in Lowell and Lawrence, the latter town being named after him. Messrs. Nathan, Sam, and William Appleton had all come to town without anything and accumulated ample fortunes. My father-in-law was a singular man, a devoted Episcopalian, a man of the highest integrity and the greatest ability for affairs. He had a large family whom he treated kindly but despotically. He was most benevolent. I think I never knew him to do an unkind thing, and never heard him say a kind word. But he was nervous and made himself most uncomfortable to his sons-in-law, Amos A. Lawrence, F. G. Dexter, and myself.

Until 1857, the year of the great crisis, I was in partnership with Mr. Gardner. In order not to be too absorbed in money matters, I made it a rule that I would never speak of business after I left the counting-room and would not allow myself to think of affairs. Strange to say, I kept up this habit until '80. I had then become president of the Atchison Railroad, and I found that the difficulties of the situation, the large sums of money I had to raise, the continual demand on my time made by the road, etc., gave me so much anxiety that I could not throw them off my mind day or night.

I passed my time mostly in reading or in society, of which I was very fond. My daughters were born in 1853, '56, and

'58. I had a great admiration for Franklin, and in reading his autobiography I was struck by his attempt at vegetarianism. Now it so happened that Mr. Francis C. Lowell, one of the most highly esteemed men in the city and a man of peculiarly even temper, was a vegetarian. He was the father of my brother Algernon's wife and grandfather of Judge Francis C. Lowell. This led me to try a diet exclusively of vegetables. I kept it up six months. I could not find that it had any effect on my health or my temperament; but the stomach was overloaded every day because nature, finding less nourishment in spinach than in beef, called for much more food, so that after my meals I was heavy. Having satisfied my curiosity, I gave it up without regret. I had taken it up not, as Franklin did, as a duty, but to see if it would improve my mind and my temper. Perhaps six months was not a long enough trial.

Another point in which I tried to imitate Franklin was in keeping a paper on which the various sins were enumerated against the days of the week, and marking down every evening before going to bed whether I had been guilty of any one of them.

Franklin selected as embracing all the virtues, Temperance, Silence, Order, Resolution, Frugality, Industry, Sincerity, Justice, Moderation, Cleanliness, Tranquillity, Chastity, Humility, but I made a different list. Resolution, Silence, Frugality, Temperance, I left out and put down what I supposed would be more important to me, such as Pride, Want of Chastity, Temper, Meanness in money matters, Cowardice, Envy, and several other vices. Every day I made a check against the vice that I had committed. I kept this up for about a year, but I found (as with my vegetarianism) that it did me much less good than I expected. I suppose I was not

enough in earnest, and I think also that we are very ignorant of ourselves and are committing faults without knowing it, whilst we are on our guard against faults which are less important or do not exist.

> "*Compound for sins they are inclined to,*
> *By damning those they have no mind to,*"

says old Hudibras.

Besides, what is wrong in one character is not in another: a bad-tempered man is wrong in indulging in the slightest ebullition of anger, just as a man inclined to drink should not touch a drop; yet in another man an outburst of anger may do good, just as a glass of wine may be desirable. Cowardice is often only caused by imagination and yet you cannot call imagination a sin. Vanity is necessary to many men to make them more careful of their personal appearance, their manners, etc., although ludicrous in some. Want of liberality in money matters is often a virtue. The pressure in this country to give money is perpetual; many people from vanity or desire to be well thought of by the community give when they ought not to do so, both when they do not really approve of the charity or when they cannot afford it. Pride is put down as a sin, but is just as often a virtue which keeps one above fraud or dissipation.

Living economically in a house on Beacon Street lent us by my father-in-law, I reached the year 1857. The autumn saw a great commercial crash. We had a hard time because the debts due us were not paid, and we had to take up our discounted paper. Still we got through, partly by our own merit, but partly also because our connections with wealthy men helped our credit. Mr. William Appleton was, however, so much frightened that he insisted on my giving up business

and taking the treasurership of the Boott Mills with a salary. I shall say nothing more of my business, as it would interest nobody except to explain how I began to succeed. The war had broken out in '61 and the United States had issued irredeemable currency. History had taught me that the issue would continue because it gave immediate relief, but that the ultimate effect was invariably depreciation, which showed itself in the apparent rise in value of everything that represented real property. I therefore bought freely anything that came under my hand, — pepper, coffee, iron, etc., — and at the end of the first year found myself, owing to having followed general principles, the happy possessor of one hundred thousand dollars. The next year I did as well, and, as I was wise enough to stop when our currency began to improve, I found myself in '63 comfortably off. From '57 onwards I kept a day book, and although there is very little interesting in it, it enables me to record those years at least with accuracy.

1857

I passed the summer of this year at a hotel at Plymouth with my family. My father and mother were also there, the celebrated wit Judge Warren and Mrs. Warren, and Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Bartlett. With the latter I became intimate and formed a friendship which lasted over thirty years. Mr. Bartlett was then thinking of giving up his law practice on account of ill health. He was under sixty years of age and continued to practise until his death in '89, having been the leader of the Bar in Massachusetts and perhaps in the United States for thirty years. He was a man of the most charming

temper and disposition. I never saw him angry. He had from his youth practised optimism and saw the silver lining under every cloud, so that he was the most cheerful of companions; but his most distinguishing characteristic was wisdom. His judgment was uninfluenced by prejudice or passion, and his kind heart and ready sympathy led me to turn to him for counsel and encouragement. His great success at the Bar was owing to the fact that with unerring instinct he knew how to seize on the vital point of a case and, neglecting all minor considerations, to lay before the judges the one essential matter. His briefs were very short and difficult to understand unless the greatest attention was paid to them. He was very distinguished in appearance, and though not a great talker himself, he brought out with suggestions the thoughts of others. I owed to him being chosen a member of the Friday Club. This club lasted many years after the war. They met to dine at one another's house every fortnight in winter. The members were perhaps the most distinguished body of men it has been my good fortune to meet through a long life: Judge B. R. Curtis, well known on the Supreme Bench for having opposed the cause of slavery in the celebrated Dred Scott Case, and later for having saved by a most masterly argument the indicted President Johnson from condemnation by the Senate, a man of rare learning, charming conversation, and strong religious belief; James Russell Lowell, poet, man of letters, minister to Spain and England; Cornelius Felton, Greek professor and president of Harvard; George Ticknor, whose universal knowledge was only equalled by his memory; Charles Francis Adams, who returned to us after eight years at the Court of St. James during the most difficult of times; Agassiz, Hillard, William Amory, William Gray,

Chief Justice Bigelow, and others. This club taught me much. I thought I was well educated, I found I was ignorant. I fancied myself clever until I was thrown in with men of real ability. Dr. Holmes should have belonged, as he was a most charming conversationalist; but he never would allow others to say a word and I am afraid this kept him out of the club, where, however, he was often invited. He was an agnostic and many a struggle on the Christian religion do I recollect between him and Judge Curtis, when I have seen the tears glisten in Curtis's eyes.

1858

January. The dissolution of the partnership between Gardner and myself was advertised in the "Courier." We had been four years together and although on winding up I do not think much money was left to represent profit, I had gained experience and a great respect for the honourable character of my partner.

April. The city of Boston was full of revivals; every church had prayer meetings where fools and dupes mingled with rascals to proclaim aloud that they had at last found salvation and prayed for everybody. Theodore Parker attacked the movement with his usual ability and blasphemy, and was prayed for by name.

My brother Sidney had gone to Mexico as assistant astronomer to Colonel Talcott's engineer corps; but finding civil war existing in Mexico between Juarez on one side and Comonfort, the President, on the other, he joined the Liberal side and was captured in Orizaba by General Echegaray. As a reward had been put on his head, he gave a wrong name and

was sent to prison; but when he was found out, orders were given to have him shot and he was saved by the interposition of an Englishman named Grandison. My father went immediately to Washington and the Secretary, General Cass, interceded in his favour. So although he was nothing but a filibuster, he was pardoned and Comonfort offered him a place on his side. But Sidney was sick of a fare of oranges, which was all the prisoners got at Pueblo, and made his way home by Vera Cruz.

August 5. The Atlantic Telegraph was successfully laid, but was interrupted at once.

1859

July 27. Went down the harbour in the steamer "Neptune" to see Minot's Ledge Lighthouse, now forty feet high. The rock on which it is built is less accessible than the famous Eddystone Lighthouse off the Channel coast. The stones were cut on shore, dove-tailed into one another and fastened with copper clamps. The first layer was imbedded in the rock, which was cut to receive them. The ledge being uncovered only at dead low water and with a smooth sea, it was only a few hours of the day and a few days in the year in which work could be done. On our return we went over Fort Warren on George's Island. A million dollars have been spent on this structure which commands the Narrows, but it is unfinished and useless because of the want of more appropriations.

September. On the second I had been hunting in the Adirondacks and rose from a very uncomfortable bed at Bloomingdale, thinking it was dawn, but on looking at my watch found it not two o'clock. The light was caused by a magnificent au-

rora spread from east to west, illuminating with a fiery red all the southern sky, while, strange to say, the north was buried in darkness. This phenomenon was noticed by me the next night at White River Junction, when there was less brilliancy of colouring but much more movement, the northern lights shooting forth at every instant from the south, making a spectacle as sublime as possible.

September 12. The anniversary of the settlement of Boston and the inauguration of the Webster statue by Powers. Unfortunately it rained in torrents and blew a gale. All the speeches had to be made in the Music Hall and the procession given up. Mr. Everett is said to have distinguished himself more than ever before. I drove to Brookline and dined with Mr. William Appleton. Mr. Everett was there, who looked tired but was very agreeable; Franklin Pierce, ex-President; Hamilton Fish of New York, the Mayor of Boston, Felton, Dr. Lothrop, and others. The ex-President passed the night at the house and I found him pleasing in conversation; but his face, and particularly the mouth, bears marks of weakness.

October 8. The remains of Sir John Franklin's vessels and crew have at last been found. Sir John died in 1847 before the vessels were abandoned. They were left in '48 in the ice to the northwest of King Williams Land and all the survivors (over one hundred) perished in trying to reach the Great Fish River. Captain M'Clintock, in the "Fox," solved the question.

October 24. We hear of the first act which was the forerunner of our Civil War. John Brown of Kansas notoriety attempted, with fifteen men and five negroes, to take forcible possession of the arsenal at Harper's Ferry. They defended themselves for a day or two, but were killed or taken prisoners. Osawa-

tomie Brown is to be hanged the second or third of December, and Governor Wise of Virginia has called out the militia to prevent a rescue, which appears to be threatened from Ohio. The state of excitement is frightful and almost all my Southern relations have joined various bodies of militia. My Uncle Jeff wrote to have the "Advertiser" I send him stopped as too violent. He despairs of the Union. Here there are meetings in sympathy with Brown, and Wendell Phillips and Ralph Waldo Emerson pour out their vials of wrath. *December* 8. The conservative party called a meeting at Faneuil Hall to remonstrate against the violence of the abolitionists. It was very crowded and enthusiastic. Mr. Everett took the platform and delivered a beautiful speech of an hour in length. General Cushing succeeded him. He began his speech in the most eloquent and masterly manner. I think I never heard greater power in manner, tone, and expression than he showed the first five minutes, but he afterwards became personal and abusive.

1860

January 10. On this afternoon the Pemberton Mill at Lawrence fell without warning. Of seven hundred operatives many escaped miraculously, but nearly one hundred were killed and one hundred and fifty to two hundred were maimed or wounded. A fire which broke out in the ruins suffocated or burned all the people who were held fast by fallen timbers. [The people of Boston showed their usual liberality and thirty thousand dollars were subscribed in the city alone for the benefit of the sufferers. The inquest showed that the accident was caused by a defective casting of the iron pillars.

The Spiritualists prophesied that the Pacific Mills would fall on Monday, the thirtieth, at a quarter before five o'clock, but the fatal hour went by and the Pacific has stood thirty years longer.]

March 29. My mother-in-law, Mrs. William Appleton, died of heart complaint. She had been ailing some time and death was a relief. She was sixty-six years old and was entirely dependent on her husband. I doubt if she could have formed any opinion without knowing his. She was unselfish and timid. She cared much for music.

Sunday, September 23. I went to church to hear Dr. Nicholson. A very long sermon. The good man says that "faith is the evidence of everything unseen and the substance of all we hope." How can faith be evidence and how can it be substance? I wonder whether he really believes what he told us, — that if David had entered the Holy Tabernacle of the Temple, he would have been struck down dead? Curiosity must have led people to peep in and yet we hear of no dead bodies being brought out. Who dusted the Tabernacle? What became of the soldiers of Titus who ransacked it and carried the candelabra to Rome? Is it not wonderful that the traditions of the Jews should gain credence with such men as Dr. Nicholson when the more probable stories of the Greeks and Romans are called mythology!

November 6. Election day. Lincoln and Hamlin were chosen. Every Republican member of Congress from Massachusetts has been elected except Burlingame, who was defeated to my great joy by Mr. William Appleton. I had worked so hard that I was attacked by fever and violent cold, brought on by excitement and exposure, but leeches and mustard poultices set me on my legs again. A great panic in the money market

is caused by Abraham Lincoln's election. Exchange fell to par. Money not to be had on the best paper, as the banks are unable or afraid to discount. The New York banks have agreed to give each other credit on stock securities to the extent of five millions. The Boston banks propose to take the bills of each other in settlement at the clearing house to a moderate extent. Mr. Appleton has a very despairing letter from his friend Governor Aiken of South Carolina. He thinks that nothing can prevent the State from seceding and believes that others will follow.

December. Mr. Appleton, who went to Washington with Mr. Amory, writes that he considers the Union is almost certainly gone.

December 18. To-day appears a masterly appeal to the people of Massachusetts signed by Chief Justice Shaw and others and written by B. R. Curtis, calling upon them to repeal the unconstitutional laws on their Statute Book. I am afraid they are not yet ripe for it. Wendell Phillips held forth on Sunday in the Tremont Temple on his usual subject, "Negroism," and abused the mob who stopped the John Brown meeting a fortnight ago. He had to be escorted home by the police amidst hootings and attempts to injure him; but his eloquent and inflammatory harangues are spread broadcast over the land to exercise their pestilential influence.

December 23. South Carolina seceded on Friday, the twentieth, from the United States. The day, I am afraid, will be long remembered. Mr. William Amory, who returned from Washington yesterday, says that the Republicans will make no concessions and he thinks, as I do, that if that is the case the Middle States will join the cotton States and disunion and civil war follow.

December 30. Major Anderson has evacuated Fort Moultrie and retired to Fort Sumter. The palmetto flag floats over the Charleston Custom House. In short, they are in open rebellion. The President's (Buchanan) message took the ground that every State might secede, as there was no law to prevent it, but that he was obliged by the Constitution to collect duties at the seaports and that the United States ports and arsenals should be protected. Now that South Carolina has begun the aggression, I hope he will chastise them instantly and severely. His enemies say he is a traitor and will do nothing. The Cabinet is breaking up. The credit of the Government is so poor that the bids for a Treasury loan of five millions ranged from seven per cent to thirty-six per cent. The Bank of Commerce in New York gets one million five hundred thousand at twelve per cent. It was left to Cobb as Secretary of the Treasury to begin paying off the United States debt at eighteen per cent premium and to go out of office with so little credit that the Government pays gladly twelve per cent per annum. During the week a fraud in the Indian funds of about one million was discovered. A clerk by the name of Baily sent bonds of different States to a large contractor, Russell by name, and took as security acceptances of the Secretary of War which Russell had received but which he could not negotiate. The guilty parties confessed.

1861

January 5. Governor Andrew opened the Legislature with an abolition speech in opposition to Governor Banks.

January. The "Star of the West," carrying supplies to Major Anderson, was fired into and driven away. Louisiana has

seized the United States forts. The President seems at last to have decided to use stronger means and the sloop of war "Brooklyn" has been ordered to Charleston. Senator Seward * delivered his much-expected speech yesterday. It was a philosophical disquisition on the evils of Disunion, but very non-committal. Holt has been confirmed as Secretary of War and Dix has taken charge of the Treasury. Georgia seceded this week, so that all the cotton States that threatened to leave the Union have gone.

February 18. Jefferson Davis has been chosen President and Stephens Vice-President of the Confederacy. In the meantime Lincoln, having been duly recognized as President on Ash Wednesday, the thirteenth, has left Springfield for Washington. He seems to talk everywhere to everybody.

February 23. I left with George Gardner and Sturgis Hooper for New York on our way to Cuba.

February 25. Sailed in the "Quaker City" at twelve o'clock. Weather cold and fine. Tuesday passed Hatteras Light and began to cross the Gulf Stream. Soon we saw flying fish and our first lunar rainbow.

April 3. I came early on deck to see Havana: on the left the old Morro Castle, picturesque and frowning; on the right the city looking Oriental, the houses of one story, gaily painted. The wharves already covered with people; and long lines of horses being bathed, their heads fastened to the tails of those before them. Got through the custom house without difficulty and went to Le Grand's, outside the walls, where we found a good table, but the accommodations for sleeping and dressing poor. I slept in a cabin on the roof, on a hide stretched between bedposts. Every morning I was waked by

* *Our future Secretary of State.*

a negro bringing me a cup of coffee and a fresh cigar. The town was gay, the theatre superb, the streets crowded with volantes,* in which sat two or three ladies much dressed. The weather was very hot day and night, the sea bathing magnificent. The baths were cut in the coral rock with large holes to admit the heavy ocean swell but to keep out sharks. When a Norther blows, the waves often dash over the barrier. There was every appearance of prosperity. The houses, without glass in the windows, consisted of a courtyard, where you usually saw the volante, and a large drawing-room with chairs on each side against the walls, for gentlemen on one side and for ladies on the other. No ladies could walk the streets alone, and our poor chambermaid, who was from Maine and kept here by high wages, told me she had not been down to the first story of the hotel for four years. The cafés without number, where you bought acid drinks and sherbets, had fresh cigars and lottery tickets *ad libitum*. The tickets cost an ounce (about sixteen or seventeen dollars), but were cut into small pieces so that even the negroes could buy them.

March 7. We took the train to Matanzas. The country was flat and given up to sugar-cane. No grass grows in tropical countries because of the year being divided into dry and wet seasons, and the animals are fed on corn and other fodder. Palm trees were dotted separately all over the fields. The last part of the railroad from the Union to Matanzas was very bad, so that we went at a snail's pace and jolted at that. We reached the town at about one o'clock.

March 9. We left for a sugar plantation owned by Don Pablo

* *The volante, which is now extinct, consisted of a chaise with two immense wheels behind; the shafts were supported by a horse, and another horse outside was ridden by a postilion; the riders in gorgeous liveries and the horses often covered with silver-plated harnesses.*

Marcia Garcia, in order to see the grinding of the cane which was going on. The house was new and not quite finished, but large and comfortable; windows down to the ground without glass but heavily barred; no closets, and, as the rooms all opened on the central hall or living room, the slops had to be carried through the parlour. The negroes looked fat and happy; there were about two hundred and eighty, including fifty women. They were all locked up at night, the sexes being kept separate. They did not appear to me to be worked hard, except about fifty at a time, who took turns attending the sugar house, and had eighteen hours a day of it. You could not go out at night on account of the bloodhounds which were let loose and were very savage.

On Sunday we rode to a great cock fight. All the gentlemen assembled from the neighbourhood, each with one or two game-cocks which they fought themselves, betting very freely. They were in perfectly clean white shirts and large sombreros, and wore a scarf round the waist. I saw no wine or liquor of any kind drunk or offered for sale. We all lived on oranges, which boys were selling for almost nothing. I understood that slave women sold for more than men, owing to their scarcity; as since the civilized nations had put a stop to the slave-trade it had been more profitable to import men. We were told that a cargo had just been landed and distributed amongst the plantations, the governor-general receiving an ounce a slave for shutting his eyes.

Tuesday returned to Matanzas. We passed a day at the Ariadne plantation belonging to old Mr. Chartrain, father-in-law of John Bayley, from whom we had letters. It was an old coffee estate and decidedly more civilized than Don Pablo's, but much smaller. On our way back to Havana we took

another road and passed through a much prettier country with the Pan of Matanzas to the north. The soil in some places seemed six to ten feet deep. The Americans I met did not believe in civil war, but they naturally sympathized with the slave States.

We left Havana for New York *via* Nassau on the first propeller I ever saw. She was named the "Karnac," and was uncomfortable, partly from continual rolling and partly because at every wave the propeller raced round, shaking the whole after part of the vessel. We found on board Mr. and Mrs. Frank Shaw and two lovely daughters, going to Nassau. They were violent abolitionists and believed that war was necessary to cleanse us of the sin of slavery. They added much to the pleasure of our trip.

We met four or five water-spouts at once, so that we had to turn out for one of them. The cloud seemed to drop down like an inverted cone and suck up the water. The sea was perfectly smooth, and there was little or no wind.

Nassau is a pretty little place full of negroes, — a negro paradise, — where the blacks are governed and partly supported by the English Government. The custom-house officers were black. The troops were black. About one hundred New Yorkers were passing the winter here, many being consumptives; but it is a dull residence, with a lovely climate and clear blue water.*

March 25. I reached home.

April 1–3. It began to snow at eight in the evening of the first and continued until the morning of the third. From one to two feet fell with a cold northeast wind.

* *How little I realized that within a year it would be filled with filibusters and steam blockade runners, and that almost all the commerce of the South would pass through its harbour, looking now so quiet and empty!*

April 9, 12, 13, *and* 14. Mr. Appleton and Mr. Amory decided to go to Charleston and see for themselves the true condition of affairs. They embarked on the steamer "Nashville." On the twelfth Sumter was attacked by the rebels, and after fighting thirty hours without much damage on either side Major Anderson capitulated. One or two men were killed by the bursting of a gun on our side. Mr. Appleton saw the shelling and did not land until the fourteenth. He was received without difficulty and made his way home by Savannah, Tennessee, and Cincinnati without being stopped, although he was known to be from Massachusetts. The people had not realized that civil war had begun.

April 15. President Lincoln called out seventy-five thousand militia to suppress the rebellion, defend the capital, and retake the forts, mints, etc., seized by the insurgents. Two thousand men have been called from Massachusetts. Immense enthusiasm here to defend the flag and the Government. The call was doubled. Jefferson Davis issued a proclamation offering letters of marque to anybody and everybody to attack our merchant vessels and pillage our commerce. If we seize these pirates we cannot hang them because the South would order reprisals on prisoners of war, and that would mean mutual extermination. In answer to this Lincoln declared all the Southern States in a state of blockade.

April 19. The Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, which came from Lowell and Lawrence, was fired upon and stoned by the mob in Baltimore. The last company appears to have been the only one attacked; the report is that they had two men killed and some wounded, and shot down some ten of the

assailants. Thus the first blood was shed on the anniversary of the battle of Lexington and Massachusetts suffered in both cases.

May 14. Mr. Appleton reached home, and left for Washington to take his seat in the extra session of Congress called for July fourth.

Lord John Russell and the English sympathize with the South and talk of treating their pirates as belligerents, etc. The English have always been guided by their own interest; they want cotton and they don't like our high tariff. Their pretended horror for slavery vanishes as soon as money points the other way. They do not yet believe in the uprising of the North, the men and treasure that have been laid at Lincoln's feet for the protection of the country. This will make them more cautious.

June 11. Friday Club at Mr. Ticknor's. Mr. Everett spoke of the extraordinary memory of Niebuhr. When a clerk at Copenhagen a leaf of the ledger was torn out and he furnished it from memory. Mr. Everett thought that would be very easy on the credit side of his. *Ticknor:* When Niebuhr was editor of a newspaper he had occasion to read a Russian despatch relating to the capture of Königsberg, brought by a courier who was changing horses. He put a translation in his paper which proved to be correct when the despatch was made public. *Everett:* Scott is said to have repeated the "Pleasures of Hope" after hearing them read. *Ticknor:* He repeated to me two beautiful translations of, I believe, German. On asking him where they could be found, he said he had never read them, but the translator reading them to him, he thought them so fine he had them repeated. Before his death, however, he called one of his own songs Moore's.

Hillard: Porson did not seem able to forget. He knew all the Greek tragedies by heart. *Ticknor:* On one occasion he agreed when dining with Lord Holland and two literary gentlemen, that he would bear his fair share of the conversation, that he would always speak apropos, continually quoting from Shakespeare, and he succeeded although the gentlemen led the conversation on to modern science. *Everett:* At Stirling I was told there was a man who could recite the whole Bible by heart or give the chapter and verse of any quotation. I went to see him and found he did it, although not so readily as I had been led to suppose. He was nearly an idiot and when reciting swung a large key in his hand. Take the key away and his memory seemed to forsake him. Grotius, when a youth, heard, it is said, the roll-call of a regiment, and repeated the long Dutch names without error afterwards.

The company speaking of a duke, who, it was said, was to take a second wife though unfortunate in the first; *Hillard:* It was a triumph of Hope over Memory.

On the subject of the quarrel now going on between T. H. Huxley and Owen. *Agassiz:* They neither of them know enough to decide the question, which relates to the development of the brain of the gorilla. I have taken pains not to become interested in the matter, but it is of immense importance. Darwin's theory and the question of whether a god produced this world gather around it. Huxley is very clever, but does not always take pains enough to prepare himself. Owen is fascinating to some, offensive to others. Dr. Jeffries Wyman of Cambridge received the first skeleton of a gorilla and gave the animal its name. Owen came next, then Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, who had the first specimen preserved in spirits. Du Chaillu has altogether the best collection that has

ever been made. I do not believe Dr. J. E. Gray is right in his attack upon him. The gorilla is entirely frugivorous not carnivorous. Dogs existed with the Esquimaux when they were first discovered, also with the American Indians. Both are distinct species, not found elsewhere.

On errors in history. *Mackintosh* (the son of the celebrated Mackintosh): At the battle of Trafalgar instead of "England expects everybody to do his duty," Nelson's orders signalled to the fleet, "Paint your hoops white," the French fleet having all black hoops round their masts. Taylor's answer to Santa Anna was really "Bliss, tell them to go to hell." No secrets of importance in history that are not discovered; Junius undoubtedly "Francis," the Iron Mask "Matthioli." *Everett:* North Carolina was settled by Highlanders. Some years ago General McNiel told me he was the first Representative to Congress from his District in the interior of North Carolina who had not been able to canvass in Gaelic.

July. Mrs. Longfellow, wife of the poet, a daughter of Mr. Nathan Appleton, stepped on a match and caught her dress on fire at the foot of the stairs in her house in Cambridge. She was soon enveloped in flames, and notwithstanding Mr. Longfellow's efforts to save her, she was fatally burned. She died at ten o'clock in the morning, Wednesday, July 10. It was then the fashion for women to wear immense steel hoops. These held the dress apart and made it almost impossible to extinguish the flames by the usual method of wrapping the body round with pieces of carpet or blankets. On the lower three steps of the staircase I saw distinctly the marks made in the wood by the hoops heated almost red hot. On the thirteenth I went to the funeral of Mrs. Longfellow and then to Newport after calling on Mr. Nathan Appleton. He told me

he should not be alive on my return on Monday, and sure enough he died very quietly at five, Sunday morning.

Tuesday, July 16. At the funeral of Mr. Appleton at King's Chapel and drove to Mount Auburn with Mr. William Amory, who told me that I was one of the trustees.

July 19. Being in Newport in July I found several fields covered with a black, hairless caterpillar which was called the army worm. In some places it was impossible to walk without stepping on them. They ate everything green in their way, so that the grass looked as if scorched by fire. They were over an inch in length, dark back, belly light, and the head apparently hard and of a lighter colour than the back. They will eat their own size in a leaf of corn in a few minutes. I saw a field of wheat so covered with them that every blade was black. I collected about a hundred in a box to find out, what nobody could tell me, the fly which has produced them in such myriads. They are probably the same insect which is committing such ravages at the West. By July 31 the caterpillars had made cocoons. The insect proved to be a brown moth with a black dot on the wings. At Mr. Agassiz's request I sent some specimens of the caterpillar, cocoon, and moth to the Agassiz Museum in Cambridge.

July 22. We went on board the old frigate "Constitution." About ten feet are said to remain of the original vessel which took the "Guerrière" in the War of 1812. Whilst on board we were alarmed at the report of the complete overthrow of McDowell's army at Bull Run near Manassas Gap. The fight began on the twenty-first. The rebels, commanded by Beauregard and General Lee and strengthened by Johnston's command of twenty thousand men, outnumbered and outgeneralled the Federal troops. Our army gave way at night and

the large part of them ran in the most terrible confusion even as far as Washington, over twenty miles, spreading panic in the city and all over the Union. The road through Centreville and Fairfax Court House to Alexandria was strewn with knapsacks, guns, baggage wagons, etc. Fortunately the enemy did not pursue. We do not appear to have lost over one thousand men, which leads to the supposition that the enemy was also badly disorganized. McClellan had been called upon to take command.

Wednesday, August 7. Went down to New Bedford, where Mr. B. Rodman met me at the cars and drove me round their famous new drive. Mr. Joseph Grinnell, on whom I called at his bank, delayed me a little and when I came out told me he had sent my trunk to his house, where he expected me to stay. He put me in a room which had been occupied by Daniel Webster, Sir Bulwer Lytton, Abraham Lincoln, and other celebrities. After a charming day with the Grinnells I took the yacht "Richmond" and sailed through Wood's Hole.

August 10. Reached Cotuit and sailed for Edgartown with the Codmans and Lowells.

August 11. We fished for swordfish south of Martha's Vineyard, sometimes out of sight of land. The fish is found asleep on the water and speared from an iron stand fixed at the end of the bowsprit. We landed at Gay Head for an hour and reached Tarpaulin Cove at night. Next day back to Cotuit, where a severe gale obliged me to leave the boat and return by land to Newport.

October 12. Left for Washington with Mr. Bartlett, William Amory, and Fred d'Hauteville. In New York called on General Burnside with Mr. Amory. He struck me as a very hand-

some, kind-looking man with the nostril of a race-horse, — what you call a fine fellow.

At Washington, where we found Willard's Hotel very crowded. We drove over Long Bridge. At Fort Albany, which was situated about a mile from the tête de pont, we found the Massachusetts Fourteenth under Colonel Greene. This gentleman showed us Fort Richardson, which was a mile farther out, and explained that although Fort Runyon at the bridge was the lowest, it commanded Fort Albany, whose five magazines were so planned that a shell from Runyon would explode them, whilst balls from Albany would either bury in the ground or pass over the fort into the water beyond. Fort Richardson was commanded in the same way by Fort Albany. Thus if the enemy took the first or even the second, the colonel could retire to the lowest and could not be driven out. We returned home over the ferry, stopping at the Custis house. This is a beautiful place with a magnificent view of the Potomac and Washington, but very much out of repair. It is owned by the Southern General Lee. On our way we passed through a good many encampments; amongst others, three Wisconsin regiments. The men are splendid, healthy-looking fellows. I do not believe that for bone and muscle any army corps in Europe can compare to them.

October 16. I rode to the farthest outpost of the army at Lewinsville, where we found a captain and twenty men. About two rifle-shots from us was a wood where the enemy's pickets were placed. On our right we could see ten or twenty men approaching the wood. The captain informed us that they were scouting. We reached General Wadsworth about three in the afternoon. He occupies Upton's Hill and is building a fort called Buffalo a little further, on Taylor's Hill. The view was

beautiful: on our left, Munson's Hill, held by Blenker's division and strongly fortified; on our right, Porter's division, covering several hills with their white tents; in front, about a mile off, the village of Falls Church and Secessia. Through his telescope Wadsworth showed me the white horse which I have seen mentioned in the papers so often. It belongs to some rebel officer on picket. In company with Captain Smith we rode down to Falls Church, a little old building said to be two hundred years old. The village was entirely deserted. The woods all over Fairfax County were cut down by thousands of acres, partly to get abattis, but more to allow range for cannon. Death itself seemed to have passed over the country. At the outpost we were informed that one of our pickets had just been shot by the enemy and lay mortally wounded some distance out of the lines. This led the captain and myself with Powell Mason and a New York colonel to ride further and we reached the farthest pickets half a rifle-shot from the enemy, one of whose fires we could see plainly on our left. I fully expected a ball or two, but none came. We reached Washington long after dark after a most interesting ride.

Wednesday, October 17. I rode and our party drove twenty-six miles along the Maryland line to General Banks's headquarters. Gordon's regiment, the Massachusetts Second, was encamped close by. Towards evening on to General Stone's headquarters to visit the Twentieth Massachusetts Regiment, at Edwards' Ferry. Mr. Amory and myself slept in Major Paul Revere's tent. They were all grumbling at an inaction which had lasted five weeks.

On Friday, when we left, everything was as peaceable as possible; but the next Sunday occurred the disastrous battle

of Ball's Bluff. The Twentieth crossed the river with Devens's Fifteenth, a California regiment under Baker, and a New York regiment; in all, twenty-one hundred men. They met the enemy in superior numbers, — about four thousand, — well posted in the woods, and were shot down like sheep. Baker was killed and the broken ranks, when pursued back to the river, found no provision to ferry them over. Three or four hundred were killed or drowned; amongst them young Putnam. Five hundred and fifty were taken prisoners, including Colonels Lee and Cogswell and the two Reveres. Devens and Casper Crowninshield saved themselves by swimming the river. Captain Bartlett with great coolness led his company a mile or two up the stream and found a boat. The whole matter was a blunder of Baker's, but General Stone was made the scapegoat.

We saw this general before leaving at Poolesville. He has twenty-seven thousand men in his division and commands the right wing of the Army of the Potomac. He spoke very highly of Devens's regiment and we had the pleasure of shaking hands with the gallant colonel. We were shown the soldiers' stores, which are as good as anything on my table, and given to the men in such abundance that they resell part of their rations. The Government, having found out that this food was taken across the river to the enemy, is now buying back from the men their surplus rations. The extravagance with which this war is conducted is inconceivable. A private gets excellent clothing and shoes costing certainly five dollars a month, rations worth twelve dollars a month, his pay of thirteen dollars a month, State allowance to his family twelve dollars, making forty-two dollars a month in all. The waste in hay, cattle, and ammunition is equally

frightful; but the leaders are politicians and are afraid of offending the soldiers who have votes.

October 18. On our return to Washington we called on Chief Justice Taney, Secretary Chase, and General Scott. The latter is entirely gone, very old and infirm, unfit for his place but courteous as always.

November. State Election. Governor Andrew reëlected and Mr. Sam Hooper sent to Congress to succeed Mr. William Appleton. My brother Sidney, major of the Sixteenth Regulars, has been ordered to Louisville, Kentucky. We have taken Port Royal and General Nelson has defeated the enemy in Kentucky, whilst the Unionists in Tennessee have risen and burned the bridges on the river.

November 15. Mr. Ticknor told me many anecdotes of President Jefferson, whom he had visited in 1816 and afterwards with Daniel Webster and Mrs. Ticknor in '24 or '25. After leaving Monticello the party stopped at an inn and agreed to write down anything remarkable in Mr. Jefferson's conversation that two could recollect hearing. Some fifteen or sixteen pages were written which were published by Fletcher Webster in his father's posthumous works. Mr. Ticknor says therefore that when Randall in his life of Jefferson denies the accuracy of these statements on the ground that Webster wrote them down many years after from recollection, he is mistaken. Mr. Ticknor thinks English is more correctly spoken in New England than in any part of England, though our orators are not so accurate as their leading men. Even Mr. Everett makes mistakes and printed inadvertently the expression "in our midst."

November 17. We hear that Captain Wilkes in the "San Jacinto" had stopped the British packet "Trent," and taken

out of her the rebel commissioners, Mason and Slidell. I hope this may not involve us in a war with England.

Wednesday, December 4. We have the President's message, a conservative, sensible document in much better English than his former one. The reports of the Secretary of the Navy and of the Army are also very interesting; the former showing that from a navy of five hundred guns, last spring much scattered and out of repair, we now have twenty-five hundred efficient guns; the latter recommending the employment of slaves belonging to disloyal masters, cutting out of Virginia a loyal State to be called West Virginia, and lastly stating that we have under arms the enormous force of six hundred and sixty thousand men, of which about twenty thousand are regulars, the balance volunteers.

December 13. The rebel steamer "Nashville" is lying at Southampton waiting to be repaired. She burned on her way out the American ship "Harvey Birch," in ballast, and brought the crew in irons to England. She has no letters of marque and I believe is not a national vessel, though Pegram, the commander, shows a commission from Jeff Davis as lieutenant. The sympathies of the English Government are so much on their side that I am afraid she will be allowed to refit and prey on our commerce. A letter from my Uncle George. He had been to call on Colonel Lee and Major Revere in prison and given them a change of clothing. He had, however, to leave Richmond and join his regiment, of which he is colonel. [He became afterwards rebel Secretary of War.]

December 14. The English Cabinet, on hearing of the seizure of Mason and Slidell from the mail steamer "Trent," forbade the export of saltpetre and lead, ordered arms sent to Canada, put several vessels in commission, and sent secret orders to

their ambassador, Lord Lyons, as the newspapers state, to demand an apology and the rendition of the commissioners. The steamer "Europa" has been detained in New York until Friday, the twentieth, to take out despatches from Lord Lyons. Consols down to ninety.

December 27. Friday Club at Mr. Hillard's. *Hillard:* Everybody and every nation sympathize with rebellion; there is an innate opposition to law. Lord Thurston after reading "Paradise Lost" said he only wished the devil had got the best of it. *Judge Curtis:* A man being accused of theft a tailor swore to a coat. Daniel Webster for the defendant tried to browbeat him in various ways; at last he said, "Do you mean to swear that you made the buttonholes?" "As if I shouldn't know my own stitches," said the tailor. It was impossible to remove the effect made on the jury by these few words.

Mr. Ticknor had been carried down in 1798 with a black cockade (Federalist) and a silver eagle to see the launch of the "Constitution." On the question whether the Irish would give England any trouble in case of war with us, he thought not. He considered the late violent demonstrations at Dublin of no account. It was impossible for any foreigner to understand the state of parties in Ireland. They were caused by the spirit of propagandism of the two sects, Catholics and Protestants. Mr. Ticknor was present forty years ago at a scientific meeting in the Rotunda in Dublin. The presiding officer stated that he was very much pleased to see the most eminent Catholic gentlemen (the Archbishop and others) joining with them in the cause of science. This was received with no favour, but with many marks of disapprobation. Mr. Ticknor in his ignorance supposed they came from the Roman Catholics. Not at all; they were from the Protes-

tants. Mr. Ticknor had letters from Sir Edmund Head and from Count Circourt, which led him to believe that not only England was intent on war, but that France agreed with her in the "Trent" controversy. He knew, notwithstanding the silence of the newspapers, that Lord Lyons had laid before the Cabinet at Washington a polite but determined demand for an apology for the stopping of the "Trent," and for a rendition of Mason and Slidell.

1862

January 1. This morning Mason and Slidell and attachés were put on board a tugboat and taken to Provincetown, where the British gunboat "Rinaldo" was waiting. She sailed that night at six in the face of a severe northwest gale.

Mr. William Appleton is failing. He died February 15.

Incendiary fires in the South have become very frequent. They are undoubtedly set by negroes. Charleston, though half burned down, is reported as having been set on fire again in three or four places. At Richmond the theatre has been burned. At Nashville seven hundred thousand dollars of commissariat stores were destroyed by fire; a powder mill near New Orleans was blown up, etc. The distress in Secessia must be very great, the women and children unfortunately suffering for the sins of others.

April. Battle of Shiloh.

May. Capture of New Orleans and of Norfolk.

December. Friday Club. When Spurzheim, the phrenologist, was in Boston he was very anxious to have a plaster cast of Audubon's head. Not being able to go with him, he gave him a note to the workman he employed. Audubon opened it; it

contained the request to have the cast made and a postscript "pay particular attention to the bump of colour."

In Dr. Véron's most agreeable book, "Mémoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris," the following repartee is said to have caused a *duel à mort*. Old French officer to Swiss officer of the guards of Louis XVIII : "Vous Suisses servez pour l'or, nous Français pour l'honneur." The Swiss answered: "C'est vrai, monsieur, nous servons tous les deux pour ce qui nous manque."

Porson's life was discussed, and the pun on Brutus killing Cæsar: "Nec bene fecit, nec male fecit, sed interfecit." This was not Porson's, nor this: the application of Horace's "quos et quæ subeunt at auræ" to a pair of breeches. Porson said he would make a pun on anything. "Try one of the Latin gerunds," said some one. Thereupon Porson made the following: "When Dido found Æneas would not come, she mourned in silence and was Di-do-dum."

Agassiz says that the statement on which About's absurd novelette of "L'Homme à l'Oreille Cassée" is founded, that certain worms and beetles can be dried up and preserved in that state an indefinite period and then brought to life again by moisture properly applied, is true. He has experimented himself on several; with the higher animals he has kept a marmot when the temperature of the body was thirty-five to thirty-eight degrees, and the respirations, imperceptible to the eye, took place only once in seven minutes instead of oftener than once a second. He had changed turtles without killing them from a state of torpidity at forty-two degrees to life at eighty-five to ninety degrees in half an hour.

John Henry, surnamed the Traitor, came to Boston during Madison's Presidency, and on the pretence that he could in-

form against Bostonians and the Hartford Convention sold his letters to Mr. Madison for fifty thousand dollars. In Boston he went into good society and inspired so much confidence that when he went to France with a man calling himself Count Crillon, the Perkinses intrusted him with fifty thousand dollars for safe transportation. The money was never heard of. Crillon managed to sell him a mythical estate in France, pocketed most of the money, and ran away. The robber robbed became very poor.

1863

General McClellan passed some days in the beginning of February in Boston. He was most enthusiastically received by the people. There was a monster reception at the Tremont House of fifteen thousand people. He received a silver pitcher from the children and a sword from the Citizens' Committee. Dinners, balls, and serenades succeeded each other in rapid succession. Mr. James Lawrence, William Gray, and myself and others accompanied the party to Worcester to bid good-bye.

He seems a sensible, honest man, and inspires confidence; moral qualities more marked than intellectual; physical strength enormous. Mrs. McClellan was very pleasing with a remarkable power of remembering names and places. I give some of the general's conversation. He stated that the pamphlet entitled "Defence of Richmond" was written by a Hungarian not a Prussian officer. He had some conversation with him in New York after he had left the Confederate army. The officer stated that when war broke out, being a strong Unionist he wrote to Carl Schurz asking for a commission in

the army of the United States even down to a lieutenancy. Schurz answered that there were now more Germans applying for commissions than could be had, and advised him to fight on the other side, which he accordingly did. He told McClellan that before Jackson's raid down the valley of Virginia, in which he defeated Banks and threatened Washington, that Jackson was ordered not to leave the neighbourhood of Hanover Court House until perfectly certain that McDowell would not attempt a junction with McClellan.

The general said that after the six days' fight on the Peninsula when he had reached Harrison's Landing, finding that a large division had been sent by the enemy against Pope, and believing that not more than twenty thousand men had been left in the neighbourhood of Richmond, he requested permission to move on that city, but it was refused and his army recalled to Washington.

After Antietam, he crossed the river when he could. Many regiments had to wait for shoes and clothes; but when they came he had under his control the largest and finest army he had ever commanded, — one hundred and twenty thousand effective men. He intended to have moved to Culpeper and given battle if the enemy would accept it. His troops were confident of victory. Two days before he was recalled.

When he moved to Manassas he was aware the enemy had evacuated, but hoped to strike a blow at his rear guard. His principal reason, however, was to get his army into the field out of the barracks, get rid of an enormous amount of useless baggage and material; in short, put them in a fit condition for a campaign.

He thought that a States' rights feeling was gaining ground

at the North, which he looked upon as a great misfortune. The same feeling had caused the rebellion at the South.

He was confident that this war, in whatever way it terminated, had given a death-blow to slavery. Wherever the Northern army went the slave was free; but he did not approve of confiscating the property of perhaps innocent men a thousand miles from the field of operations.

The cabal against him acquired great strength whilst he lay ill of typhoid fever at Washington before his Peninsular campaign. He thought it possible that the President might have been really afraid to let McDowell's corps move to join his army at Hanover Court House, but his fears must have been excited by people who knew better. It was never intended that the campaign in the Peninsula should be successful, for it would have been the end of the political influence of the leaders of the ultra-Republican party.

He thought that Burnside had taken upon his shoulders more blame for the battle of Fredericksburg than he deserved. It was rather fortunate that Halleck forgot the pontoons. Had they arrived in time, the army would have been liable to a defeat in a spot from which they could not have been able to retire so easily. Burnside could have moved only slowly, as he would have had to build a railroad behind him, and the enemy would have had ample time to fortify the North Anna as strongly as they did the Rappahannock.

The foreign element in our armies, contrary to Russell's statement, is of very little importance. He hardly thought it worth taking into consideration.

The year 1863 was one of great importance to the United States.

Vicksburg surrendered to General Grant; the battle of Get-

tysburg, which took place at the same time, July 1–4, was a death-blow to the Rebellion.

In my own family only two events of interest took place: the birth of my only son, Thomas Jefferson, Jr., on March 16; and the death of my brother Sidney, who was killed at Chickamauga, in the battles which lasted from the nineteenth to the twenty-second of September. We received no news of his death. His body could not be found, although Algernon went to the front to make inquiries. Of the sixteen hundred regulars which formed the corps he commanded under General King, only six hundred escaped. We wrote to my uncle George Randolph, who was the rebel Secretary of War, and he made all the inquiries possible. Many months afterwards General Butler sent me his sword, which was delivered up by Brigadier-General Gowan, after Jonesboro was taken by the forces of Sherman in September, 1864. I had given this sword to Sidney and had engraved on it:

Major Sidney Coolidge | 16. *Infantry U. S. A.* |
From T. J. C. | *Sept.* 5. 1862.

Underneath Gowan had inscribed:

Captured at the | *battle of* | *Chickamauga* | *by Col. D. C. Gowan* | 2. *Arks Reg.* | *Sept.* 19. 1863.

Beneath this is engraved:

Recaptured | *from Brig. Gen. Gowan* | *at the battle of* | *Jonesboro* | *Sept.* 1864.

The three Septembers of 1862, 1863, and 1864 were ominous.

In the middle of July there was a terrible riot in New York, occasioned by resistance to the draft. Negroes were killed, policemen were shot, and many houses plundered or burned. The military succeeded at last in quelling the disturbance,

but not until one to two hundred lives were lost and a million of property destroyed. We had also some difficulty in Boston. An attack was made on the Cooper Street Armory, but fortunately Captain S. Cabot fired upon the mob, killing about twenty people, and nipping the whole thing in the bud. I paid seven hundred and eighty-five dollars for a substitute and as much as one thousand was paid. Many of these men deserted to other States, where they received new bounties. [I see by a new law of Congress that they are entitled to pensions if once enlisted, whether they went to the front or not.]

In August we put a new organ in the Music Hall. This, according to my father, who is a very good judge, is the finest in the world. The bellows are blown by a stream of Cochituate water. As a boy, I recollect going to hear the one at Freiburg, Switzerland, which then was famous and had the *vox humana* pipes. But I suppose with the march of improvement our own will soon be surpassed as this has been.

I recollect calling on old Mr. R. D. Shepherd of New Orleans at the Brooks' at Medford. Mrs. Gorham Brooks was his daughter. He had been living for three years on his place in Virginia, sometimes overrun by the rebels, sometimes by the Union forces. He gave it as his opinion that it would be impossible to conquer the South, but that they were heartily sick of the war and would return to their allegiance if we only promised them the right of governing themselves in their own States. Their own debt would be worthless and they would bear their share of the taxes to pay ours. He thought, however, that if we gave in there would, in a few years, be renewed trouble about slavery; consequently he advised letting them form an independent State. I thought, however, that slavery was virtually dead and that it would be but a short time be-

fore the great preponderance of the North would prevent any future trouble. The old gentleman was waiting for an operation for cataract which Dr. Derby was to perform in a few days. He took it philosophically, as well as his loss of income, which he said since the war would not pay his taxes. In 1859 it was one hundred and twenty thousand dollars.

In looking over the memoranda I sometimes made of interesting conversations, I find that Agassiz stated that a few years ago he and Professor Peirce and Bache founded an Academy of Science, with the idea of selecting all really true men of science in the country. The first named was Professor Henry. After him, and always with the approval of the new member, were to come Totten, Engelmann of Missouri, McClellan (not then general), Holbrook of Charleston, Jeffries Wyman. Maury was never thought of, nor Professor Silliman. This winter Agassiz is going to Washington, where all these gentlemen will meet, to get from Congress an official recognition of the Society. I suppose he has in view something like the French Academy without the emoluments which their members receive from the Government.

Speaking of the utter impossibility of merely including men of original ideas, he thought that the laborious and learned compiler, the gatherer of the harvest, was often of more importance to science than the genius who burst out with one fitful but original idea. He illustrated his idea by giving an account of Schwann. All botanical substances are composed of cellules; animal matter (in contradistinction) of bunches and of stringed fibre. All scientific men supposed they were the same, but it was never known until 1827, when a young man named Schwann published a small work conclusively showing the connection between botanical and animal life.

This raised him at once to the highest place among scientific men; he was made professor at a university; he had stamped himself as a man of original mind. For thirty-five years he has done nothing except give tolerably good lectures to his students.

"On est plus heureux par le sentiment qu'on a, que par le sentiment qu'on inspire," is by La Rochefoucauld.

Lieutenant-Colonel Conolly, commanding troops in Canada, and who, I believe, was in the charge of the Light Brigade, said the French guard in the Crimea was kept for a long time in the harbour and not sent to the trenches. One of them, impatient at inaction, wrote on a barrack, "La vieille garde (de)meure ici mais ne se rend pas (dans les tranchées)."

Véron says that "Mirabeau écrivait au comte de Lamarck: 'Il est des hommes qui ne changent jamais de manière de penser, ce sont les hommes qui ne pensent pas.'"

In Paris, after the February Revolution, a man entered a club, ascended the tribune, and shouted, "Mr. President, I demand ten thousand heads." "No, no!" a voice exclaimed from the crowd, "I am a hatter."

1864

During this year the war continued in all its force, but we were gradually breaking down the Confederate strength and preparing for their surrender in April, 1865. The financial condition of the country became appalling, gold reaching at one time two hundred and seventy-six, and the English bank rate standing at nine and one-half, but with that was united the greatest extravagance everywhere and in everything, and

the firmest determination to see the war out unto the final extermination of slavery. The capture of Fort Pillow in April, and the murder in cold blood of three hundred negroes who surrendered, excited justly the indignation of the whole country. Grant pressed Lee in Virginia with a total disregard of life, so that when the campaign was ended we had probably lost seventy thousand men. The Confederate loss was enormous, though not equal to ours; but the attrition on both sides ended, of course, in the destruction of the least numerous battalions. In September Sherman took Atlanta and started across the South for Savannah, and Farragut gained immortal fame by destroying the enemy's fleet and taking the Mobile forts. Sheridan defeated Early in the valley of Virginia, and all these victories led to the reëlection of Lincoln by immense majorities November 8, 1864. The greatest victory of the whole war was gained by Thomas at Nashville and resulted in the complete destruction of Hood's army.

I recall outside of public affairs few things of interest. Ball made a cast of a colossal equestrian statue of Washington. It met with universal praise, but to me it had the defect of all equestrian statues, — all mane and tail. It was cast at the Ames factory at Chicopee, and stands on the Public Garden facing Commonwealth Avenue, the most conspicuous situation in the city.

In July cotton had risen to a dollar and seventy cents per pound or seven hundred dollars a bale, the usual price being nine to ten cents and often as low as five and six cents. In December Secretary Chase was appointed Chief Justice.

There appeared a life of the celebrated lawyer Jeremiah Mason, and many good stories were told by Chief Justice Bigelow and B. Curtis about him. He and a friend went to

the Shakers and attempted to get in. The leading Shaker refused them admittance and Mason was coarse and abusive. At last he said, "Do you know who I am?" "Friend," said the Shaker, "by thy height and thy profanity I judge thee to be Jeremiah Mason." Mason was enormous both in size and height. Being in New Hampshire he was ordered by the judge to give a prisoner, who was not defended by counsel, his advice. Mason wanted to go home and was impatient at the Court assigning him to the defence, but the Court insisted. Mason took the man into a private room and heard his story. When the man asked him what to do, he said, "My advice to you is to open that window and make the best of your way to Vermont." The prisoner took him at his word and escaped. When questioned by the judge, Mason said he had given the prisoner the best advice he could and he had not seen him since.

They said that Mrs. S. had starved her company to such an extent at the ball she gave at Papanti's that Mrs. Codman had inserted on her invitations to a party R. S. V. P., "Refreshments served very promptly."

Sophocles, the Greek professor at Harvard, made the statement that without convents we should have lost not only our present civilization but the Christian religion.

At a dinner, we had Major Anderson, who was on Foster's staff. He was sent by his chief to give Sherman any information he might want about roads and rivers in North Carolina. He found, however, that the general knew more than he did. The Western army was full of spirits and had some contempt for the Army of the Potomac, which had always been beaten, while they had universally succeeded. The discipline was lax, the officers being on familiar terms with their men. At a

review the privates would cry out to Sherman, "Uncle Billy, ain't you going to give us a change of base?" Sherman was an immense talker and easily influenced by women. When in Savannah the clergymen asked him if they should preach on Sunday. "Yes," said he, "I want all the churches run to-morrow and I will assure you an attentive audience." "But," said one of them, "we have instructions from the Bishop to pray for Jefferson Davis." "I should advise you," answered the general, "not to do so in public, as my troops might take offence; but when you get home, pray for him with all your heart and for the devil too. They need prayers more than any persons I know."

As Foster was making his way up the Ogeechee he met three or four dug-outs filled with Northern troops. The major stepped on deck and hailed them. "Who are you?" "Sherman's foragers. Who are you?" "This is Major-General Foster's staff boat." "Damn Major-General Foster and his boat. We have a hundred major-generals in the army and no hardtack."

The foragers of Sherman's army in his great campaign from Atlanta consisted of picked men from each regiment. It was considered an honourable service and any cowardice or fault was punished by sending the guilty party back to his regiment. They were ordered to go ten and twenty miles on each side, never to give way but to fight any militia they met. Ten were always to go together; whenever they heard shots they were to rally to the sound. This was done so well that General Howard, wishing to get some pigs that were too wild to be caught, had them shot, and within half an hour the few guns that were fired brought three to four hundred foragers around the farmyard.

Sherman relied much on General Jeff C. Davis and Logan. He told many stories of them. At councils of war they were always opposing what he suggested, but when it came to fighting he found they did it all. They were both proslavery Democrats. Logan stumped Illinois for Lincoln at the last election. His principal argument was, "Come in, fill up the armies, and you can have all the lands." His disgust was great when the Sea Islands were given to the negroes. He considered the finest lands in the country as justly belonging to his white men. Sherman says he has no black Republicans in his army, meaning negroes.

1865

January. Edward Everett, one of the most brilliant orators and ripest scholars in the world, died of apoplexy. When he was president of Harvard College I sat under him; but with all his ability he had not the necessary force to gain the admiration of the students, and his political life was a failure, partly owing to the fact that he and R. C. Winthrop took the unpopular side and endeavoured to prevent the Civil War by counselling moderation and justice. I had the same views and voted against the Republicans on the Whig side and after the end of the Whigs on the Democratic. But looking back I am convinced I was wrong. The country could not get on with slavery and the white men reared amidst slave institutions. Civil War could not be prevented and the country could not be saved except by suffering.

I received news of the arrival in England of my Uncle George Randolph, rebel general and Secretary of War. He was far gone in consumption. He intended passing the winter

in Pau with the hope of returning to his country in the spring. I sent Mr. Russell Sturgis some money for him, as I feared his finances might be as dilapidated as his cause.

Agassiz was invited by the Emperor of Brazil to make a voyage in the country. Mr. Nat. Thayer supplied twelve thousand dollars to pay his expenses. He intended ascending the Amazon to the Andes, following them south to Lake Titicaca and returning by the Madeira. He very kindly invited me to join him, which I had to decline to my great regret.

Richmond fell April 3, and General Lee and his army surrendered to General Grant April 9. Thus ended the most abominable and wicked civil war. It was brought on by the South, and they paid the penalty.

Good Friday, April 14. Lincoln was assassinated by J. Wilkes Booth.

I had passed four anxious years. Mrs. Coolidge's health was bad and I decided to give up my affairs and take my whole family to Europe for rest and health. I left in July, 1865, and passed over three years. Just before my departure all the children came down with whooping cough and I notified the Cunard Company that we could not go. The agent, Mr. Bates, thought it of no importance as there were no passengers liable to take it, and so we started. Although we filled the cabin with the whoop which accompanies the disease, no one caught it and we arrived and landed in Liverpool on the sixteenth of July, much better for the voyage. The children went direct to London, but I stopped at Chester to see Eaton Hall. I was too late, the gates being shut, but a shilling opened them and I went to the palace. There I found the

same objections, and it took a gold piece to open all the doors. Tipping had not then become a universal practice in the United States, and it was with some disgust that I found all over England that a few shillings were an open sesame to a railway carriage or even to the doors of the National Gallery against all rules. I attributed this to the low rate of wages in England; but whatever the cause, the almighty dollar was worshipped more in the mother country than with us, although the English press had for years taunted us with our abnormal greed and our worship of money. I reached London after stopping at Oxford and Warwick Castle. There we passed many pleasant days sight-seeing. At the expensive and fashionable hotel where we were staying my children broke out with an eruption entirely unknown to me. I jumped into a carriage and went to my friend Mr. Adams, who was still minister at the Court of St. James. Mrs. Adams gave me the address of her physician and told me that besides being a good doctor he charged only ten shillings for a visit. The worthy man came to the hotel, informed me that there was no disease, but that the inflammation was caused by the bites of bugs, and when I asked him what I should pay modestly demanded a guinea. The damp climate of England seems to increase this nuisance, which I have never met in the United States.

We reached Paris some time in the summer and put up at the Hôtel de Londres. My uncle George Randolph and his wife dined with us. My father and mother had arrived and I called on the Count de Circourt at Celle St. Cloud. We began by shopping, and found Pingat, Vignon, Ouvré, much cheaper and better than our best dressmakers. The most expensive dress Mrs. Coolidge bought was a black silk from Pingat. This would have cost at home two hundred dollars, whilst

the charge was four hundred francs or about one hundred and sixteen dollars at the rate of exchange. We had also a charming dinner with my father and mother, Bossange the bookseller, and Count de Circourt. He was most brilliant. Speaking of my friend Mrs. C., he said she was a woman of no talent but of great will and perseverance. She attached Tocqueville to her so that it almost amounted to a *grande passion*, and he brought around her all the talent and wit of Paris. Her salon was unquestionably one of the best in the city. Tocqueville died at fifty-one. His letters when published had to be garbled, he was so opposed to the Government. His last volume, the eighth of his complete works, appeared after his death. There were in it glimpses of hell. The present administration so-so. Lavalette poor; Drouyn de Lhuys fair, but Rouher very strong and, he should say, Fould. When Louis Philippe was driven out all the able men in France — Guizot, Thiers, etc. — were lost with him. France was *décapitée*, but a new head had grown on its shoulders. Napoleon III a great man; his monument for posterity was the kingdom of Italy. His greatest actions were making peace at Villafranca with Austria and afterwards with the Russians, thus depriving England of all credit. Paris itself was his monument. Bossange said that his brother once called on him when he was in prison at Ham. Ten years later Napoleon was going to Strassburg surrounded by Rothschilds, and his ministers. At the railway station he recognized Bossange, who was secretary-general of the railway, and was standing modestly apart. "Why, M. Bossange, are you not going to shake hands with me?" said the Emperor. He invited him to Strassburg, where he remained his guest three days. Napoleon had not seen him for ten years.

Circourt: After the battle of Magenta, Cavour's physician found Cavour in a great state of excitement. "Why," said he, "you ought to rejoice; this is just what you wanted." "No," said Cavour. "I have seen the Emperor; he has not nerve enough to stand this havoc of men. Another such victory and he abandons our cause." This turned out as Cavour predicted. After the peace Cavour was out of office, and he came to Paris and remained very quiet. The last time Circourt saw him was in this very Hôtel de Londres in the *entresol à droite*. One night he came to Madame de Circourt's, had her lock her doors and give him something to eat. He said his course was decided. The Emperor would do nothing for him, but would not oppose him. He was therefore going to throw himself into the hands of the Liberals. He turned to Italy, and soon regained power. Then came the annexation of Modena, Parma, Tuscany, and finally Naples. Napoleon was afraid of Cavour; both were equally able but the last disinterested. The Count had just been in England and was struck by the conservatism of everything. He knew Carlyle, who was overbearing. Macaulay was very much so in India, but not in England.

Lord B. had looked at the dead body of Byron and found only one leg deformed notwithstanding the positive assertion of Trelawny to the contrary. Trelawny was now dead, but his son married to Louis Napoleon's old mistress, Mrs. Howard, to whom the Emperor gave a beautiful place near Versailles, which cost three million francs. When Fould objected to the bills, Napoleon is said to have exclaimed, "Why, Mrs. Howard is not a woman, she is an institution." This was true. She sold and pawned her trinkets and watch to help Louis Napoleon's expedition to France. Pool, the tailor, is said to

have lent him money also. Circourt offered to take us to the château of the Duc de Luynes, by far the best in France. In it is a statue made after the description of the famous statue of Athene by Pythagoras. The original was about thirty-seven feet; this is but eight. It is made of ivory and silver gilt, part of the helmet and the shield of brass — an exact copy except the helmet, where the reading is doubtful. The helmet has in front eight horses abreast and (according to the Count) this injures the beautiful head under it.

All ports of ancient date were situated on rivers as high as the tide goes: London, Rouen, Bordeaux, etc. This was to escape piracy and yet have the benefit of the tide. London means "the place of ships."

America not much known in France; Washington, Jefferson, Monroe (the latter on account of the Monroe Doctrine), are known by name, but only the learned few have heard of Madison or Hamilton. Talleyrand said the three men who had struck him most were Napoleon, Charles Fox and Hamilton. He is said to have written to Burr, when Burr called upon him (when in Europe as minister to Austria) and desired to see him: "Le Ministre des affaires étrangères présente ses compliments au Ministre des États-Unis à la cour de Vienne, mais M. Talleyrand doit à Mr. Burr de le notifier, qu'il trouvera le portrait de Mr. Hamilton sur sa cheminée." This story cannot be true, for Burr was never minister to Austria. But Talleyrand had a picture of Hamilton which he had taken from the family in America without leave. It was afterwards returned.

In August we left for Switzerland. I went to a fire in Berne and found that they still used only little hand engines to pour on water. At Geneva I went to see my old school-

master M. Briquet and his wife, who of course did not know me. They looked as young as I recollected them twenty-five years before.

Lemuel Shaw and I continued on to Chamouni, where although I was in no training, I determined to ascend Mont Blanc, and started September sixth. I had two guides and a porter. We started about 11 A.M., and reached the last house at Pierre Pointue about five in the afternoon. The steep ascent to Pierre à l'Échelle made me, to my disgust, giddy; but when we took to the glacier I enjoyed every step. We were in a magnificent thunder-storm on the Bossons Glacier. The passage across is not difficult. We had ladders to get over the crevasses and reached the dismal, dirty-looking little cabin called the Grands-Mulets, where we were to pass the night. In it I found two Englishmen with their guides. One was from St John's, Cambridge; the other was an ill-bred fellow from Oxford. We all lay down after putting on our warmest wraps, but the cold and the excitement prevented us from sleeping, so that we rose at midnight without being refreshed. At 12.30 the three parties set out by a bright moon. We soon came to deep snow, which made the walking very fatiguing and slow. On the Petit Plateau we had to run for our lives to escape an avalanche from the Dôme du Goûté! The sun rose splendidly at 5.30, the cold being very great. We passed the Grand Plateau and ascended the Rochers Rouges, cutting steps in the ice all the way until we reached the Côte. Here we lay down to rest, the sun scorching our faces whilst we had to keep our feet covered with snow to prevent freezing. Whilst the guides were cutting steps in the Côte I had time to admire the view, which is magnificent. On one side Chamouni and the Lake of Geneva; in front the Aiguille du Midi, Aiguille

Verte, and Aiguille du Géant; the Jardin under our feet; on our right the Bernese Alps and the Jungfrau, whilst still nearer you, but looking small, the Mont Rose and the Matterhorn. All these mountains were covered with snow except where the bare rock rose in precipices.

We ascended the Côte, using the steps in the ice that had been cut by our guides and driving our sticks at every step into the frozen wall. We were tied together, but I do not see how the others would have held up any one who had fallen. About 10.30 we reached the summit; it was very cold, much fresh snow had fallen, and the ascent was considered the most fatiguing of the year. It was not considered dangerous, but to me, whose first attempt it was to do mountain climbing, it left an impression which was lasting. A house has now been built on the top, with instruments to take observations of the air. On the summit the view is not striking, because you see the tops of the surrounding mountains and not their sides. We opened a bottle of champagne — and found the descent rapid and easy. I arrived at the hotel at Chamouni at half-past seven. I had passed a night without sleep, had walked nineteen hours, and learned that I was not fit for the Alpine Club. After this Shaw and myself walked into Italy over the Matmarksee and the Monte Moro and down to Lake Maggiore. Nothing can exceed the impression of beauty made by the Italian lakes on descending from the Alps. Lakes Lugano and Como and the St. Gotthard route have been described so often that I will not waste time on our homeward journey to Paris. We found it full of Americans. We hired the apartment 26 Champs-Élysées, where we passed the winter. My daughter Marian was so ill with typhoid fever that she had to be carried in a blanket from the hotel;

but a change of air set her up in a few weeks. Meantime the cholera was making havoc in Constantinople, where some twenty thousand people were said to have perished.

During the autumn I amused myself in examining diamonds and pricing them at different merchants'. The shops of these men were usually upstairs in out-of-the-way streets. Many had grown wealthy and the stones you saw in the jewelry shops of the Rue de la Paix were owned by them and loaned the jewellers for sale. At that time a perfect one-carat stone was worth about five hundred francs, the value rising with the size in a geometrical proportion. White was the best colour, then rose (but there must be no brown in the pink), then yellowish, bluish; brown being the lowest. Breathing upon the stones made the flaws generally visible. There were many of nine, twelve, and even fourteen carats, but they had usually imperfections, so that the price varied greatly. They seemed to be sent back and forth from Amsterdam by mail. I was very much surprised at the confidence of the dealers in a perfect stranger. One of them left me alone in a small room with shelves covered with precious stones. I think, however, that somebody must have been watching through a peephole prepared for the purpose. They let me take stones loose in my pocket to the hotel and keep them two or three days. On my asking them how they dared do this, they said they had never lost a stone through an American; but I think they must have used the police to make inquiries. I was sorry to see that some years later Halphen, one of the richest, failed for a very large sum, owing to a depreciation in the value of the diamond, caused, I suppose, by the South African discoveries.

The cholera reached Paris in October and soon two or three

hundred people died a day. My friend George Gardner and his family left us for Switzerland, but I thought it safer to remain quietly with my children. The celebrated surgeon Trousseau, upon whom I called, told me the disease was diminishing and that I had better not change my habits of living in any way. The churches were full of funerals; the whole atmosphere bad; and the statement that the disease was diminishing was false and given to allay any alarm.

October 25. I received a letter from George Gardner at Lausanne stating that one of his children was dead of cholera and that another had the disease. I took the night train and reached there the next day. The infant died and had to be buried at once. I started out to find an Episcopal clergyman, of which there was but one in the place. This gentleman declined to read the services over a cholera patient because his first duty was to his family and he had no right to expose himself to infection. I was furious, but there was nothing to be done but to bribe him, which I did by offering to pay an exorbitant sum. He came to the house, stood the full length of the two drawing-rooms away from the coffin, hurried through the service, and ran away. The most marked contrast was exhibited by a plain Swiss clergyman, who came into the house just as we were setting out for the graveyard and said he heard we were in trouble and had come to do what he could. He was from a village and wore low shoes with home-made woollen stockings, and an old coat which had weathered many storms on errands of mercy. He rode to the graveyard with us and said prayers.

I returned to Paris, and the disease, which was getting less fatal, disappeared with the cold weather of January.

1866

We made an excursion to Pau and in March I went to Italy and passed some very fatiguing weeks in sight-seeing. It was my first visit and I endeavoured to see too much. You must go to Italy once or twice merely to learn that the study of a few beautiful works of art is all-sufficient. Palm Sunday at St. Peter's, March twenty-fifth, impressed me more than anything I had seen. The enthusiasm of twenty thousand people kneeling in the immense cathedral, whilst the voices of the angels and the trumpets of glory from on high answer one another across the aisles, excited your religious sentiment to the highest point.

On my return to Paris I hired a villa at Geneva called the Artichaux, where we passed several pleasant months, meeting our old friends the Demoiselles de Sellon, who were living at the Fenêtre close by, and their sister Madame de Revilliod at St. Pré. In August I started on foot to Chamouni and to the Hospice of the great St. Bernard, which I reached over the Col de la Fenêtre. There I found my name on the books of the Monastery in 1842. As I was sitting by the fire in the reception room there came on a violent thunder-storm. A tremendous crash aroused us and at the same moment the doors were thrown open and a large woman walked in with the manner of a tragedy queen. She stopped one moment, flung on the ground from off her shoulders a great cloak dripping with rain, and stood surveying us in a superb but very theatrical manner. I did not know her, but was sure that it must be Fanny Kemble. And Fanny Kemble it was! The tragedienne made herself very agreeable the two days we spent together. She was full of anecdotes, had known many

of my acquaintances on both sides of the water, and was then at the height of her reputation.

I returned home from Aosta over the St. Théodule Glacier, the Schwarz and Gorner glaciers, down to Zermatt by the Gorner Grat. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the view from the glaciers. At Geneva we met Mr. and Mrs. Wolcott and their son Roger [then a boy, but since well known as governor of Massachusetts].

Mrs. Coolidge and I made a visit to Berne, Baden-Baden, Mayence, Cologne, Strassburg, and home. In Baden-Baden I was very successful at the gambling tables and as I was leaving a gentleman followed me out of doors, told me he was ruined, and begged for some gold pieces to continue at the tables. I gave them to him and went back to the hotel about one in the morning. The next day I met the same man handsomely dressed and walking in the place as if he was one of the most distinguished guests. He looked at me through a single glass, but his memory was gone and he passed me without bowing.

As the cholera was very bad in Italy and being warned by my friend George Timmins from Milan not to venture over the Alps, we went to Pau, where we hired the Villa Forgues, in which we spent two winters. The only occupation in Pau was hunting, which I followed three or four times a week, having bought two or three Irish horses through Captain Alcock, who was then master of the hounds. One single description of a hunt will do for all, and fortunately I find the following description in my Journal:

The day was superb. The sky perfectly clear with that deep blue heaven which you never see in the north of France. The Pyrenees, covered with snow and with every outline of their

peaks as if chiselled, lay on our right. The meet was only a few miles from Pau, so that the hybrid population of the little town turned out in full force. Respectable dowagers in landaus, pretty women in pony chaises, French, Russians, Irish, Americans on horseback. Most of them were mounted on the small horses of the country — lean, ugly, little brutes, but with the delicate head and the bright eye of the Arab; for, owing to the neighbourhood of the government "haras," where all the Arabs belonging to the Crown are kept, there is hardly a horse in the department which does not own a royal lineage. They live on little and are capable of great endurance, but their small size prevents them from carrying weight. Mingled with them you see a few thoroughbreds and ten or fifteen Irish horses, whose calm, sinewy appearance contrasts with the nervous, fragile forms of their higher-born companions. The carriages remain in the road whilst the motley crowd scramble through or jump over the low ditch which separates them from the Landes, and crowd in unsportsmanlike fashion around the dogs and the huntsmen. A few linger on the road to bend over the low pony baskets for a moment's flirtation or to pay their court to the dinners and balls of the occupants of the barouches.

The next moment they are off. The dogs, all close together, lead the way over the plain, followed by fifty or sixty horsemen in full gallop, a few pink coats riding leisurely behind; for they know full well that the pace cannot last and that in a few minutes we shall leave the grassy Landes for the coteaux of Morlaas, impassable for half of the horses. I followed, holding hard with my eye on the veteran of the hunt. Here we are at the first obstacle; the fox has taken his course right up the hill, the dogs have gone ahead, and all the riders are

huddled together whilst the horses are rearing and plunging before a high bank — six feet of earth and a ditch on both sides! Fortunately the whippers-in have broken down the bank somewhat and the riders take their turn in topping it and scrambling through the opening, every new horse levelling still more the passage, until the last had nothing to do but leap the ditches. It is true that when the last have passed they have already lost their chance of riding to the hounds; but they can follow the roads, guess at the course of the fox, and return to town in time for whist.

But for those who intend to ride it is necessary to pass before the throng. Your horse is turned in another direction, and right before you lies the unbroken bank; on the other side the field is shut out of view and you must trust to fate and your good steed. I confess to a slight feeling of hesitation as we approached the bank. One blow with the whip — you lean backward as the horse strikes out behind after topping the bank to help him over the ditch below. How he got up, how he got down, where he is going, he may know; I doubt if the rider often does. You jump down into a road, over a stone wall out of it, over a bank of earth and another and another in endless succession until you reach the hill. Its sides are covered with trees. Now you scrape your eyes in a bush, now you barely save your head from a branch. You are at the top, your horse covered with foam and out of breath, for you have ridden him too fast up hill. An open country lies before you only covered by perpetual earth banks and a brook wandering lazily through a marshy soil. Three or four thoroughbreds are ahead close to the hounds. They are ridden by Frenchmen, the best and boldest riders at Pau, because they come here for the purpose of hunting; whilst the English are

here for economy and health, and the Americans for no reason at all that I could ever find. But the victory is not to the swift; one after another down go the English horses in attempting to clear the banks without topping them, and the Irish hunters have the field.

Now you are at the brook. You encourage your horse, with a shout and a blow, to his utmost speed, a charming sensation of glory comes over you, a feeling that the fox cannot hold out much longer and then — a splash, a struggle, a good deal of water in your mouth, much more in your boots, and you find yourself making frantic efforts to climb out of the other side of the brook whilst your horse appears to be swimming off as if bent for the Garonne and the Bay of Biscay. In one moment the necessity of catching that horse comes over you. You struggle furiously up the mud on to the land, you run down the brook, you appeal to the horse with the tenderest epithets of endearment. He is trying to get out, he is up safe and sound and after the hounds at full gallop, but he has forgotten to wait for you. But an angel in a pink coat, no less than the master, catches the horse and brings him back to you. In a moment you are on him and off. Off as hard as you can urge his weary limbs, for here cometh the end; a burst in the road over a stone wall through a bank of stunted poplars, wet and bloody, but with a glow of real health and happiness such as no other exercise gives to man, you jump off, loosen the girths, look for a moment at the dogs fighting over the carcass of the poor fox whilst A. ties the brush to his saddle. "A good run," says the master. You sit down, light your pipe, and look wonderingly around to find out where you are; not a habitation in sight, but fortunately the glorious old Pyrenees lie to the south.

1867

In March we started on a trip to Italy. We drove first to the miraculous grotto at Lourdes. Cures continue and pilgrimages are made to Lourdes from all over France. Yet it was proved in court that the Virgin who appeared to the peasant was a girl hired for the purpose, and that the spring which she caused to gush forth and which performs the miracles had always been there. The clergy have been obliged to give it their sanction by the popular outcry and the many people who fancied themselves miraculously saved. I suppose Lourdes must be put in the same category with the Christian Scientists and successful quack medicines. Imagination is often the cause of nervous complaint; why not also the remedy?

At Nîmes we admired that most beautiful of Roman monuments the Pont du Gard and the Arena, which is the most perfect and beautiful of all colosseums. The olive tree, which cannot live at Pau, begins to be seen here. At Nice we found the palm and the orange tree. Over the Corniche we drove to Genoa and then by train to Milan. If I attempted to give an account of what we saw and how much we enjoyed the cathedrals, pictures, and scenery of Italy, I should have to write a guide-book. I content myself therefore with giving an account of our route. In Venice we had a full moon. Thence to Bologna and Florence. There I met our minister to Italy, Mr. Marsh, the author of a book which received at the time great attention, "Man and Nature." He had the good fortune to represent us at Rome for many years and enjoyed the esteem of his compatriots and of the Italians. He told me that he had had under his eyes documents relating to a suit for divorce instituted by Louis Bonaparte against his

wife Hortense, and they proved conclusively the illegitimacy of Napoleon III.

At Rome we found my father and mother. We passed the time very pleasantly sight-seeing and riding on the Campagna. I saw a great deal of Miss Cushman, the actress, and bought of a friend of hers, Miss H. Hosmer, a beautiful sleeping faun, which I have now. I see by my note-book that I gave Tenerani thirteen hundred scudi for the Genii of the Chase and of Fishing, but I have no recollection of what has become of them. On Easter we heard the silver trumpets sound and at twelve the famous Benediction at St. Peter's which was illuminated that night. The Count de Sartiges, the French ambassador, was very kind and hospitable. At that time he was the principal person in Rome, where a French garrison of I believe ten thousand men was soon sent to maintain order and the authority of the Pope. At Naples and home by steamer to Marseilles. We could not escape a gale, but it was not as severe as the first time I went to Italy, when the steamer had to stay twenty-four hours under San Stefano.

The end of May we left for Arcachon, Blois, and Paris. The great Exhibition had brought numberless strangers to Paris and some crowned heads, among them the Emperor of Russia and, later, the Sultan.

We attended the distribution of prizes at the Palais de l'Industrie, July first. The Emperor himself gave them to the fortunate candidates. The hall was superb and filled with the most distinguished people in Europe. Behind the Sultan stood his vassal the Khedive of Egypt, greater than his master. It was the height of the glory of the Emperor. How could we imagine that in three short years he would be a pris-

oner and a fugitive! He gave a superb review to the Sultan in the Champs-Élysées, and our apartment was crowded with friends to see it from the windows.

There was on the twenty-first of July a most interesting trial in the Palais de l'Industrie between musical bands. The crowd was immense, but very disorderly. Austria carried off the first prize, then Prussia, the Gardes de Paris, Russia, in the order named. In August I made an excursion with Lemuel Shaw to Germany and Vienna. At the hotel Zurich we found the beautiful Empress of Austria, since so well known by the suicide of her son and her own violent death. We spent the next winter in Pau. I recollect little of interest except dining at a Mrs. Stewart's to meet the celebrated Dean of Westminster, Mr. Stanley, and Lady Augusta.

1868

February 26. I left for Spain. I slept at Bayonne and reached Burgos by night. The weather had become intensely cold. The dining room of the hotel (an old convent) was an immense stone room at the end of which burned a most diminutive fire. I went to bed with my clothes on to keep warm, but was obliged to get up and put on my greatcoat. The next night I took the train in preference to remaining at the hotel and went to Madrid. There I found our minister, Mr. Hale, delighted to see an American. He complained bitterly of the loneliness and dulness of Spain; but as he could speak neither Spanish nor French, he was cut off from all society. My countrymen had not yet discovered the country, although the gallery with its Murillos and Velasquez is, I think, unequalled in the world. On Sunday they had a magnificent

bull-fight. The day was superb, the amphitheatre entirely full of Spaniards from the lowest to the highest tier, all of them in a state of the greatest excitement. The best seats are in the shade, the crowd being in the sun. The more cruel, the more brutal the performance, the more they enjoyed it. I could almost fancy myself looking at a combat of gladiators in the time of Augustus. The Roman mob was as civilized as the Spanish. Indeed the more I penetrated into Spain, the more backward was everything. Beggars accompanied you everywhere; gypsies danced for a few silver pieces. But to come back to my trip. I passed through Toledo to Seville, a most lovely town with a cathedral and the Giralda next to it, which remains in your mind as the most perfect piece of architecture until, I suppose, you see the Taj Mahal. I felt in Spain when I reached Tarifa. The women still wear the mantilla with only one eye uncovered, and you begin to recollect the beauties of "Gil Blas." After a hasty view of Gibraltar I started with a guide to ride through Andalusia. We rode stallions and had a muleteer with our luggage and food to follow us. I met them at San Roque, a little tavern just in the neutral ground around Gibraltar. I had come armed with two revolvers, knowing that brigandage was universal; but my guide made me give them up. He said that he had been a guide twenty years and had never met with a worse accident than being stripped and tied to a tree. But if the gentlemen had had arms, they would have used them and in the mêlée he might have been killed. He tied to my saddle a bagful of the smallest copper coins of the realm, and I was instructed to give one to every beggar. I also learned two sentences in Spanish which appear as potent as the famous "God damn" of Sganarelle. One was, "May the holy Virgin bless you,"

and the other, "Go with God." Then we started through the famous cork forest, where many robberies are committed. My guide told me that he met the robbers often in Gibraltar, but was always polite to them, as, if they were arrested, the next English officer travelling might suffer. The weather was hot but superb, and no inhabitants were met. The villages, few and far between, were built during the Middle Ages on steep hills for defence. Around the houses stood the Spaniards all in long brown cloaks, smoking cigarettes in the sun to console themselves for the want of food. Nobody did any work; indeed the wages were so small that they would not support life. The posadas were usually one long room, partly paved. You rode in, tied your horse to the wall, and made your way to the fireplace at the end. Food there generally was none, and at night you lay down in your clothes with your feet to the fire, the first right-hand place being the one of honour. You brought your own food with you. In one posada I found the children of the hostess about twelve years old stark naked. I looked at their arms and could see no signs of vaccination. Now, smallpox was raging and the Government had ordered free vaccination. I thereupon, through the interpreter, asked her why she did not send her children to the nearest town, less than ten miles off, to have it done. She said she was ashamed to send them as they had no clothes.

There were no roads, only narrow bridle-paths. The mountains were bare but the valleys rich and green, goldfinches flew down at our feet, flowers sprang up all around us, and we were becoming sentimental when we saw ahead of us in the path a long pipe. This was the barrel of a gun; for everybody carried a gun and every gun had a six-foot barrel. The bearer, being a Spaniard, was seated in the path in his brown coat.

As I approached I asked the Virgin to bless him, and he told me to go with God, whereupon I gave him one piece of copper; and thus we wandered on as Gil Blas had done before. The town of Ronda, where I slept one night, was said to have thirty thousand people; but it had then no railroad or stage-coach and no road leading to it where a vehicle could be driven. Horseback was then, in 1868, the only way of getting there or back. The inhabitants were bull-fighters and *contrabandistas*, as Gibraltar afforded quite a lucrative business in the way of contraband goods.

One evening I arrived at a large village and put up at a regular inn; but on consulting my map I came to the conclusion that I should gain a day in Granada if I went on three hours further. I called up the guide, who said he would take me; but the host warned me that if I went out after dark I should certainly be robbed. The guide said that was only because he wanted to make me eat and sleep at his house, so I ordered the muleteer to load his mule. This the man refused to do because he was afraid of riding at night, so I had to bribe him, and we started off. The night was very dark and there were no roads, and after riding about an hour the guide told me he did not know where he was. We still pushed on, but I scanned every bush, expecting to see an old gun pointing at me; suddenly right by my side, brushing my horse, was a man on horseback. I knew my time had come; but I must not appear uneasy, so I said in a quiet voice that I hoped the Virgin would confer blessings upon him. What was my joy to hear him say "Go with God." So we stopped him at once to ask our way, and found he was a priest who had ridden to give the Host to a dying man many miles off and was returning to his home.

I must not forget the dogs. They were very numerous in all the villages and very fierce. They were mongrels of every variety and the only scavengers; but as the Spaniards did not have enough to eat, the dogs fared worse. Their bones protruded through the skin and they were covered with mange and were like a pack of famished wolves, snarling and biting over any old bone they could find.

As I approached Granada I dismissed my horses and rode in on top of a rickety diligence. Here I found myself short of money, but I had a credit from the Barings, and as the Barings were next to the Rothschilds the best-known bankers in Europe, I went to a resident banker to sell a draft. I was followed by beggars, and the number increased so that I had a company of twenty or thirty when I reached the bank. Here I showed my credit and asked for money; but the Spaniard replied that he had never heard of a house called Baring and refused to furnish a cent. Fortunately I recollected that we had a consul named Edward Loring at Malaga and that his family came from Massachusetts, so I wrote him the state of the case and received a remittance by return post. I made my way back to Pau through Malaga, where I found the vega flowing with oranges, lemons, olives, and even date-palms. The Lorings lived in a beautiful place and had been so successful and important that the title of Grand d'Espagne had been conferred on the head of the house. I reached home on the second of April. [My account of the condition of Spain thirty years ago may seem exaggerated, but it is not in the least degree, and it will easily account for the poverty and weakness we found when war broke out between the United States and the Spanish monarchy.]

After our return to Paris we made a very pleasant trip

through Holland and sailed from Havre the nineteenth of June on the French packet "Pereire," a magnificent vessel for those days. We reached Sandy Hook the night of the twenty-ninth, after a smooth but foggy passage. The next day we took the train to Boston and drove out to Mrs. Amos A. Lawrence's. I accepted the treasurership of the Lawrence Manufacturing Company, and went to work again most willingly after three years of idleness.

The Friday Club was meeting regularly and we had Mr. C. F. Adams with us after his return from England. He said that he was much more worried in England by the Americans than by the English. Cassius M. Clay and Sanford interfered and the Government asked Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Mr. Lothrop Motley, Mr. Everett, Bishop McIlvaine, Archbishop Hughes, and Thurlow Weed at different times to go to England and endeavour to influence public opinion there. The first three gentlemen wrote to him and did not come; the two clergymen failed entirely; but Weed took a little with the English press. When the news came of Wilkes having taken the Southern commissioners out of the "Trent," he (Mr. Adams) wrote to our Government that we undoubtedly had the right to do so by the English construction of international law, but not by all the principles we had upheld. Leaving out the question of law, he considered it most unfortunate and ill advised. As soon as Seward heard of it he wrote to Mr. Adams to call on Lord Palmerston and tell him that the American Government was prepared to leave the matter to arbitration, and in short to soften matters as much as possible. Palmerston had been getting up a strong war fever all over England. Consols had fallen ten to fifteen per cent. Mr. Adams, without showing the despatch to a soul, went to

Lord Palmerston and read it to him. He received it politely, but carefully. The next day consols were up one or two per cent. But Palmerston did not wish the war feeling to flag, so there appeared in his paper, "The Post," a statement that the American minister had not read a letter from Mr. Seward to Lord Palmerston, although such a rumour had existed. This statement was controverted by "The Daily News"; whereupon "The Post" again stated that although Mr. Adams might have read a despatch to Lord Palmerston, "The Post" had full authority to say that it did not relate to the "Trent" affair. Mr. Adams called Lord Palmerston "snaky." He said the existence of the despatch undoubtedly got out through the Foreign Office, where he thinks the clerks speculated in the public funds. A short time after the English Government received information from Canada that they could not possibly defend their provinces in case of war with us, and also that insurrection in Ireland would occur if war was declared with the United States. This made them more moderate. Seward, on the other side, had called on the various naval and military officers to find out what resources we had in case of war with England, and had also put the question whether, if the English merely sent men-of-war in a threatening attitude to this country, it would not break up the blockade. He was informed that we should have no troops to fight at the South and no vessels to keep up the blockade, which if once broken could probably never be begun again. (These facts he told R. H. Dana.) On hearing this he asked Lord Lyons to give him all the time he could to prepare an answer, and when the time came put his despatch in Lord Lyons's hands. Seward says that the hours Lord Lyons kept the answer were the most anxious he (Seward)

had ever known; for he had gone as far as the American people would allow him to go. He knew he could go no further and if Lord Lyons insisted on more, they would have war. After some hours Lord Lyons returned the paper as entirely satisfactory.

George C. Davis: There is no historical fact to justify Browning's beautiful ballad, "How they brought the Good News from Ghent to Aix." *G. V. Fox,* assistant Secretary to the Navy: Fearing war with England the United States Government decided to attack her commerce in the most vulnerable part — the English Channel. They therefore built a few wooden vessels capable of going seventeen knots an hour, there not being a vessel in the English war navy that could then steam over thirteen. These vessels could carry coal for a long time going seven knots, but only for a few days at full speed. They were to proceed to England by sail, once in the Channel cripple all the merchant vessels of England, avoiding destruction by running away. When coal got short they were to return to the United States, as we had no coaling stations. It was calculated that we could keep three going all the time. He gave us the name of one that was built and proved all he could desire, but fortunately no war broke out. He said that Craven, when he failed to attack the iron-covered "Sumter," was guilty of an offence punishable by death according to the regulations of the navy, which are "that any officer who shall fail to do his utmost to destroy an enemy's vessel in time of war shall suffer death." Craven should have been hanged, but the very severity of the punishment saved him. The court-martial found him guilty on a side issue, and the Secretary of the Navy cancelled the whole proceedings.

Senator Hale, now minister to Spain, was a perfect nui-

sance on the Naval Committee. Instead of helping the Government he was all the time tormenting and attacking them and never carrying out the measures that were requisite in Congress. Alexander H. Rice, on the contrary, was very patriotic, practical, and useful.

Judge Warren: A tailor calling on the judge a very hot day was surprised at finding Mr. Elliot, the judge's partner, hard at work. Mr. Elliot said he was only drawing up a deed, that he should not undertake law work requiring much intellectual exertion in such weather. "That is just the case with me," said the tailor; "I can do plain sewing, but when it comes to buttonholes I do not undertake them." This story Judge Warren told at Lord Cranworth's table in London.

Coquerel (the preacher): When Mendelssohn was asked to criticise a piece of music which he found defective, he was in the habit of hunting up the same fault in one of his own compositions. He then wrote to his friend that his piece was faulty and that he would understand it better by seeing how Mendelssohn had spoiled one of his own pieces in the same way. Thus he corrected his friend's errors without wounding his feelings.

1869

On September ninth we were living in Mr. Nathan Appleton's house on the seashore at Lynn, when we were struck by a West India hurricane which had moved up the coast instead of going out to sea off Hatteras, as they generally do. It began to blow about two o'clock from the southeast, and gradually went round to south, southwest, and west by north. The storm lasted about six hours and was the most violent I have

ever known. The rain was driven through the house, and water fell from the ceilings in the parlours so that we had to catch it in buckets. The bath-houses were blown in the air and destroyed, and all the leaves of the trees facing the storm were destroyed as if scorched by fire. I attempted to walk against the wind, but found it impossible to do so. In the upper stories the house shook so violently that we expected to lose the roof. Most of the large trees in the passage of the storm were blown down, the little ones escaping. Several blocks of unfinished houses were destroyed, and the roads all over the country blocked by fallen timber. The wind must have reached from eighty to one hundred miles an hour, and yet none of the wooden houses on the seashore were blown over and there was no loss of life. In travelling out West I have seen the effects of tornadoes where cars were blown from the tracks, where a wooden church was lifted up and thrown on the side, and where everything in the passage of the tornado was swept down as if a rough road of five hundred feet in width had been cut through the forest. This indicates that every year in the Western States the wind acquires infinitely more force than in the great gale of September ninth, and must be more appalling to the victims than even the earthquakes of Chile or Java.

1870–1871

In the year 1870 nothing of interest occurred with us, although in Europe it saw the terrible war between Germany and France and the downfall of Napoleon. The capture of Paris occurred January, 1871, and the rise and the fall of the Commune, April, 1871. The United States continued pros-

perous, the disorders in Europe having a tendency to increase immigration and give a high value to our securities.

1872

In January, 1872, I was chosen director of the Merchants Bank, the principal one in Boston. There were seven directors: Samuel Hooper, President F. Haven, Huntington Wolcott, William Amory, B. Burgess, John Bayley, and myself, all of whom, I believe, except myself are dead. I am now the oldest director of the bank, having been reëlected for the twenty-ninth time. My little girls, Nora and Sallie, were being educated and I took the deepest interest in their progress. Much the best school in Boston for young ladies of fifteen was the public high school, of which Mr. Samuel Eliot, the scholar and philanthropist, had most unselfishly volunteered to take charge. I made up my mind to send my daughters to the public school. Most of my friends advised me not to do so and prophesied much harm; but I persevered and have never had any reason to regret it. The difficulty was that as they had not been in the primary schools they could only enter the high school after examination and I found them wofully behind in English grammar. Now as far as I could see there was no English grammar and the only way to acquire the rudiments of grammar was to go to the Latin language. So I took them on a trip to the White Mountains. We went to the Profile and the Flume, drove on buckboards to the Twin Mountain House, Crawford Notch, and finished over Mount Washington to the Glen. But every minute and every hour I was driving into their little heads Latin grammar, and so successfully that when we reached

home September third they were enabled to pass a two days' examination. They remained three years. The teachers were excellent, the apparatus, such as globes, etc. (all paid for by the city), extravagantly good, and they acquired more information than they could have in any other way, and some self-reliance.

About this time there was a very curious epidemic which affected all the horses, the heavy truck-horses dying in greater proportion than the slightest-built animals. It appeared to be a cold, which resulted in swelling of the limbs and excessive weakness. By the end of October there were no carriages or horses to be seen in the streets. Carts drawn by oxen and even by men made their appearance. All my horses had it, but not severely. Things had improved but very little when a fire broke out Saturday, November eighth, at half-past seven in the evening, at the corner of Kingston and Summer streets, and burned all night and all the next day with extreme violence. The granite wall of the Post Office was partially melted by the heat. About seventy acres were burned over. The loss must have approached one hundred millions, as it was the best and the business section of the city. All the insurance companies failed, so that we lost our stock, and the sufferers by the fire only received partial payment for their losses. The city being without gas and full of roughs who had come to town to see what they could steal, many patrols were organized and the private citizens turned out to walk the streets. The militia was also used for the purpose of protection at night. I was put on a committee to formulate a plan for the rapid settlement of insolvent insurance companies. They were not put into insolvency but turned over their assets to commissions consisting usually of two lawyers and a mer-

chant appointed by the Supreme Court. These men realized the assets and divided them amongst the insured proportionately, and the whole matter was settled rapidly without lawsuits and with very little expense. New companies were promptly formed on the ruins of the old ones.

1873

In the winter I began to build a country house at Manchester-by-the-Sea, on a wild promontory surrounded by the ocean. We moved in July, and have remained many years in this beautiful spot. But it is no longer the country, hundreds of houses having sprung up around us.

On Friday, September nineteenth, there was a panic in New York. Jay Cooke & Co., Fisk and Hatch, and many others stopped payment; almost all the Joy-Thayer roads had done the same during the past two months. On the twenty-second the New York banks issued certificates and things continued worse and worse. On the twenty-sixth, in Boston, no security would bring money at any discount, not even a thirty-day note of the City of Boston. On the twenty-seventh Boston banks suspended and issued certificates. I went to New York with half a million of securities belonging to the New England Trust to see if I could raise any money on them. I applied to the Blakes, Browns, Barings, and the Manhattan, Merchants, and Fourth Banks without success, and came home the same day. After the failure of the banks they discounted freely and matters improved as rapidly as they had fallen. But there was trouble in England in November; the bank rate was at nine per cent.

1874

January 2. To celebrate my daughter Sallie's birthday I took a large party down to Salem and we drove in sleighs from there to my house at Manchester-by-the-Sea. We were twenty-six in all besides the servants. The young men slept in the upper, and the girls in the first story. The weather became so warm that many of the men bathed in the ocean and both sleighing and skating came to an end; so we had to drive the girls in the ox-carts to the station on our way home.

In July we had the great Beecher and Tilton scandal. Everybody likes to believe evil of a great man, so that public opinion was at first much against Beecher. It so happened that I was in New York in the spring of 1875 and attended one of the days of the trial in Brooklyn. The celebrated Evarts defended him. I saw most of the parties to this *cause célèbre* and heard Mrs. Moulton testify. I recollect the angelic face of Mrs. Beecher as she sat next to her husband in court. The evidence was given with much angry feeling; the accusers made a very unfavourable impression and Beecher's own manner was too unctuous to be agreeable; but I should have acquitted him had I been on the jury.

In the autumn of 1874 by one of those curious revulsions of feeling which are so common in a republic and so hard to understand, the Democrats were successful. Massachusetts elected Gaston, a Democrat, governor, and only went Republican by five thousand; New York went Democratic by twelve thousand votes, but as Grant had still two years in the presidential chair it did not indicate much as to the future policy of the country.

1875

January 10. I went with my friend Mr. William Amory to hear Dr. Putnam preach, perhaps for the last time. I have attended the Roxbury church for many years. Dr. Putnam's manner was quiet, but he held his congregation every moment. He was the most popular Unitarian clergyman of the city, and his sermons, which were a mixture of eloquence, shrewdness, and good sense, lasted rarely over twenty minutes. I never came away without carrying something with me to think over. The celebrated Phillips Brooks, on the contrary, left me without after thought, although his rapid and perfervid eloquence carried most of his hearers off their feet. He was magnetic; Putnam intellectual.

We had at the Friday Club a curious discussion (brought about by some scandal of the Prince of Wales), whether a man's duty in giving testimony was to perjure himself rather than to betray the dishonour of a woman who had been his mistress. Governor Talbot and Phillips Brooks, the clergyman, took the side that one wrong did not justify another and that the man was bound to tell the truth. I think their argument, which was made necessary by their professions, was a half-hearted one and convinced nobody: the feeling amongst the others being that although adultery was wrong, ruining the woman's reputation was worse. A man was bound to be a gentleman before he was a Christian.

February 2. Mrs. Coolidge and myself hurried to New York on receiving a telegram that my daughter Marian was in great danger. That morning at about eleven she had swallowed by mistake a mixture of chloroform and aconite meant for external use. On finding what she had done she hurried to

Dr. Blake's house and had hardly time to tell him of the accident when she became insensible. Blake fortunately had a stomach pump, which did some good, but the aconite had affected the heart; all pulsation seemed to have stopped and death almost a matter of seconds. She remained without any pulse for over three hours. Dr. Thomas, who was called in at once, worked over her hour after hour, making her breathe pure oxygen, and when the pulse stopped, applying violent electric discharges to the breast and neck. They were so strong as to destroy the skin. After one of them the patient would cry out and the heart would begin to beat, but gradually it grew more feeble, pulsation stopped, and another discharge was applied. On my arrival at the house at half-past eleven at night, Dr. Thomas told me that there was no chance of life unless the kidneys could be made to work, and they were apparently paralyzed by the poison. However, by a quarter past four in the morning some slight improvement was manifest, and she regained consciousness some hours later, escaping out of the jaws of death. In a few weeks we could move her to Boston, but it was many years before she got over the effects of the accident.

June 9. We had a remarkable rainfall. Five and thirty-seven hundredths inches fell in one day, nearly if not quite equal to the entire rainfall during the summer of 1874. From 11.23 to 2.20 in the morning, two hours and fifty-seven minutes, two and four-hundredths inches fell, which is reported to be the greatest rainfall in the Eastern States on record.

July 6. The mayor nominated as Park Commissioners myself, Charles H. Dalton, and William Gray, Jr. This was a commission of great importance, as the laying out of all the parks around Boston was left to the members. We heard Mr.

Dana and others on the Charles River Park; we had hearings on a water park for the Back Bay; examined the Arboretum, a part of the Bussey Farm which was offered to the city, went over Jamaica Pond and Parker Hill, drove round the country with Mr. Olmsted, the celebrated landscape gardener, examined sites and passed many days in the saddle before making up our minds as to where the parkway should be laid out. [In April of the next year we published our report, which really was the foundation of the magnificent system of roads and public grounds which now make the city and suburbs of Boston so beautiful. Mr. Dalton wrote the report, and to him is due, more than to all the others who were with him or succeeded him, the merit of the enterprise.]

My youngest daughters made their début in society this autumn.

1876

On February fifteenth the famous old Elm in Boston Common, which dated back to Revolutionary times, was blown down, and the city planted another in its place. I was chosen a director in the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad, and took charge of the Amoskeag Mills, the largest and finest cotton-spinning establishment in the United States. But I met also with the greatest misfortune of my life in the death of my mother, who expired April 21, 1876, after a painless struggle with pneumonia. On the twenty-fifth we all attended the funeral at Mount Auburn. She was about eighty years old and had kept her faculties perfectly until the last, taking an interest in her grandchildren and in all that went on in literature and science. I wish I had profited more by her example.

This summer (1876) I had two dogs at my country place, one an old spaniel and the other a terrier. As I was about to drive to the station in the morning I was surprised by the behaviour of the spaniel, who fawned upon me and made many sounds as if trying to speak; but as I was in a hurry I paid little attention to him. On my return in the afternoon the old dog came up to me as I got out of the carriage and began again climbing on me with low growls and whines, so that his behaviour in the morning came back to me, and I was sure he had something to tell me. I patted him and said, "Go on, old fellow, I'll follow you." He immediately led me across the lawn until we reached a precipitous bank which descends about twenty feet to the ocean. Down this bank he went and looking over I saw that he had stopped halfway down and was yelping to me to come down. I crawled down to where he was and discovered the tail of the other dog sticking out of the earth. He had gone into a hole after some animal, and the earth had caved in upon him and suffocated him. The spaniel must have been with him, seen the accident, and had endeavoured to attract my attention to the poor fellow's condition. I called one of the men and we dug him out with a spade. He had been dead some hours and was already stiff. The spaniel stood by us until his friend was taken out, but after that he paid no attention to the body and showed no sign of grief. He had done his duty and was satisfied.

1878

From 7 P.M., August eighth, to 7 P.M., August ninth, we had a fall of five and twenty-one hundredths inches of rain, mostly in thunder showers. This is equal to the downfall of the trop-

ics, where it is not uncommon to have six inches of rain, but here we often have three months without more.

In October I took my son Jefferson and made an extended tour out West, thinking the boy would learn more on one such trip than in a month at school. We reached Niagara by 8 A.M., where we found a private car with J. N. A. Griswold and three or four others. The Falls of Niagara are not so imposing as you expect at first sight, but they impress you more and more every time you see them.

In Chicago we visited the cattle yards and the lumber district, and met in the evening at the club General Sheridan, whose headquarters were at Chicago. We met him again the next night. He was a handsome, powerfully built but short man, decidedly Irish, full of amiability and humour. At Burlington we called on the Perkinses and Forbeses, thence to Lincoln, Nebraska, and on the Atchison Road to Sedgwick on the Wichita Branch. Strong, the general manager, was with us. The country was in splendid condition and the town of Wichita, only six years old, filled with innumerable wagons of wheat. From there to Dodge City, which was a town of a single row of houses, mostly rum-shops and gambling hells, supported by the cow-boys who drive the Texan cattle up there before delivering them to the cars. They were not allowed to drive farther for fear of their spreading the foot-and-mouth disease. At Dodge City they spend in revelry their earnings.

We travelled all night to La Junta, drove over the Raton Pass into New Mexico; the country looking most barren, and only fit for rattlesnakes and gophers. Thence we went back and crossed the Veta Pass, ninety-three hundred feet high, to Fort Garland and back again over the pass to Cañon City.

We walked through the Royal Gorge of the Arkansas, a cañon with perpendicular sides some twelve hundred feet high. It had, I think, no railroad; but a year or two later the Denver and Rio Grande and the Atchison Railroads had a violent struggle to take possession, as only one track could be laid between the rocks and the torrent. The Denver and Rio Grande, by violence and force of arms, held, I think, the territory and drove the Atchison men away. Colorado Springs and the Garden of the Gods were beginning to be well known. Thence we went through Denver to Cheyenne, where Mr. Perkins met us with two of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy cars to take us to 'Frisco. At Salt Lake we slept in the cars, but visited the Tabernacle, a huge cylindrical dome, and took some sulphur baths at one hundred and two degrees of temperature. Delegates Hooper and Cannon were interesting. They told me that according to the memoranda kept by the Mormons the rainfall had not increased with the cultivation of the country. This is contrary to the common impression; for west of the Missouri every farmer tells you that ploughing up the soil, laying railroad tracks, and erecting telegraph poles had a certain effect in producing greater fall of rain. This matter was one of vital importance to the railroads that were stretching out through the desert, and the belief led to many worthless branches being constructed. Whilst president of the Atchison I made the most careful inquiries and found that the Mormons were right. The fall does not increase, but of course the soil being ploughed holds the moisture instead of letting it run off at once into the rivers. We spent all day of October thirtieth in the Alkali Desert near the Humboldt River. On the Union Pacific trains the United States kept armed troops to protect

the travellers. Road agents, as they were called, were numerous, and there was fear that they would saw the supports of the wooden bridges in order to wreck and rob the trains. On October thirty-first we descended the Sierra Nevada into beautiful California; we went from Sacramento to the Yosemite, but the frightful dust and abominable stage-coaches made us give up a trip to the valley; we visited Los Angeles and San Gabriel to see the orange groves, and thence to San Francisco, where we dined at the Poodle Dog and were pleased to hear of Butler's defeat in Massachusetts by Governor Talbot. What more can I say of California? General McDowell was there. We interviewed Governor Stanford, who was making very curious experiments on the way horses moved their legs in running, by taking photographs every ten seconds, the horse breaking a thread which exposed the plate whilst he was in full gallop. He proved that the old idea of successive jumps was false, but that the legs moved in a kind of rotary motion too quick for the eye to perceive. Chinatown was of course visited and the palaces of Crocker and Hopkins, and Sharon's house in the country. On November eleventh we left for Sacramento and went to Virginia City, to see the mines. There we were entertained by champagne cocktails at the club and told of the wonders of the mines. Senator Jones had just come up from the Sierra Nevada mine, where he said he had seen and touched a bonanza with his own eyes and hands, and, said he, "I am an old mining captain and know what I am about." So we took some more cocktails and drove to our car. There in grave conclave assembled, we threw up a penny to see whether we should bet on Senator Jones's bonanza or copper it. Unfortunately heads turned up; we bought Sierra Nevada, and for my part

before I could reach New York and sell, the stock had cost me twenty thousand dollars. We made our way home by Omaha. We took a special at Kearney for Lincoln, Plattsmouth, and Creston, where we took the Chicago train to New York.

I had travelled over nine thousand miles — seventy-five hundred in private cars and twenty-five hundred by special train — without the least mishap or inconvenience. Later such a trip was considered nothing.

1879

December 14. My father died after a week of unconsciousness; he was a little over eighty-one years of age. I never heard him express an opinion about his religious feelings and do not know what they were; but I have known several men of distinction who lived to past eighty, beginning with Mr. Nathan Appleton, and I have found them all agnostics as if their faith had become weakened by years, or because they considered it no longer necessary to pretend to a belief they had never held.

1880

Towards the end of this year I made a long and interesting journey out West, going as far in New Mexico as the Atchison and Santa Fé Railroad was built. The Pueblo Indians of Isleta and Santo Domingo are probably descendants of the tribe we call Aztecs. They live in one immense house built of adobe and surrounded by a high wall. The rooms are up one story or more and are entered from the top by a trapdoor. These fortifications were undoubtedly to preserve themselves

from the Comanches and other wild and warlike Indians, who worried them incessantly. They were an agricultural people, but of small size and rather light in colour. They were gradually exterminated. Many of their pueblos are found in inaccessible cañons, but all built on the same plan. On my return I reached Topeka, where I was elected president of the Atchison Railroad at the annual meeting. This road was being pushed rapidly towards California. It had climbed the Raton Pass, built a hotel at Las Vegas Hot Springs, and reached Albuquerque and Santa Fé — where, by the way, I breakfasted with the Roman Catholic Archbishop. The country was barren, but the rates on passengers and freight so high that a profitable business could be done. It came to grief later, owing to excessive extensions. I found the work not only fatiguing but unprofitable, because as director and president I felt that my duty to my *cestuis que trust*, the shareholders, prevented me from taking advantage of any facts not known to all, and cut me off from speculations which might have been advantageous. I resigned as soon as I could; I think in about a year and a half.

1881

In June there was a fine comet a little to the northwest. The tail pointed directly to the North Star, and its head was five or six degrees above the hill near my country house.

On Tuesday, September sixth, there was a dense fog all over New England. The light was so yellow that it made the grass look unnaturally light green, and changed the colour of the flowers. We were obliged to light lamps to read or even to eat luncheon at half-past one, and many people were fright-

ened at the darkness. Whether forest fires were sufficient to explain the phenomenon I do not know. There were none in Massachusetts and the smoke must have drifted a thousand miles.

On the fifth of November I sailed with my son-in-law and daughter, Mrs. Newbold, on the steamer "Celtic" for Liverpool. The W. W. Tuckers and Thornton Lothrops were on board. We had a stormy passage, but had the good fortune of rescuing the crew of the brig "Alice." We saw her signal of distress at half-past ten at night to the north of us, and although the sea was very heavy the gallant tars showed no hesitation in launching the boats. We lay to, rolling heavily, whilst the ship's boats approached the wreck; but it took them four hours of excessive labour, and the shipwrecked seamen were not hoisted on board until half-past three in the morning. We passed through London to Paris, where we were delayed a few days by the report of cholera in Egypt. I called on M. de Lesseps, who said that it was perfectly safe and that he was going himself. Paris had changed very much since the Empire: the Bois de Boulogne was no longer filled with magnificent equipages; the cabs were poor, the drivers drunken, and the police inefficient; but the theatres were excellent and so were some of the cafés. We saw Divorçons at the Palais Royal, and found the Grand Opéra superb. On our way to Marseilles we went over the Roman Amphitheatre at Arles. It is a story higher than that at Nîmes, or rather you are enabled, owing to the arena being sunk, to walk through the lower tier of arches, which are underground. Otherwise the same system exists: one staircase by which the spectators went up, the next by which they came down in succession. The view from the tower is superb, overlooking the Ca-

margue and the town of Arles. We looked in vain for the celebrated beauties for which the town is famous. We sailed for Alexandria on the "Ebre" of the Messageries Maritimes. The boat was long, narrow, dirty, and old. We stopped at Naples and thence passed Stromboli and entered the Strait of Messina, where we met a very nasty sea running against the tide with heavy squalls from the southeast. The boat behaved better than I expected. We had for fellow-passengers some nice English people, the Wellesleys, and some amusing Frenchmen, but the ladies were mostly under the weather. On the thirteenth of December we passed the snowy mountains of Candia, and reached Alexandria the next day too late to enter the port. At the custom house they refused to allow us to take in our guns and it was some days before we succeeded in getting, through the American consul at Cairo, an order from the Government to pass them. At Shepheards at Cairo we found the E. L. Childes and the Wellesleys. We sat on the verandah and saw the usual crowd of native serpent charmers and jugglers. It is startling to have a bag opened under your feet and a half a dozen poisonous snakes let loose; but they are soon caught, some made to dance and all put back by the juggler into the dirty bag. The bazaars took up most of our time. The shops are very small and open in front, and a single Turk usually offers you a very good cup of coffee and takes down one thing after another, for which he asks three or four times its value. I foolishly offered one-half the price in napoleons he had asked in pounds, and found myself the happy possessor of many rugs. In the gold bazaar we saw them make bracelets before a little fire. I bought a pair for twenty-six napoleons. The government official who is there for the purpose gives you a certificate in Arabic of the purity

of the gold and of the weight. In this case they weighed twenty-four napoleons, and you pay the jeweller one for making them and the Government levies one more for the stamp. Turquoises were numerous and very cheap. They were sold stuck on a stick and you carried away stick and all. A very handsome one could be bought for ten francs, but they turn green very soon.

I called on my friend General Stone, who, I believe, was at the head of the Egyptian army, and on M. de Lesseps, and visited the Boulak Museum and passed a most interesting visit in old Cairo, where we saw the underground chapel of Sitt Miriam. It is here that Joseph slept, and we were shown the niche (it could not be called room) where the Virgin and Child passed a month. The water of the Nile was over the floor; filth and picturesqueness everywhere. The dancing dervishes swing their heads backwards and forwards until they almost touch the floor and continue this so long that they fall down in fits. The howling dervishes are much the same thing.

Antonio Sapienza, dragoman, offered to take us for three hundred and fifty pounds sterling to the First Cataract and four hundred and fifty pounds to the Second. This did not include the boat. We agreed to take a very fine dahabiyeh, the "Niefert," for seventy-five pounds per month for three months, or ninety pounds for two months. She was about one hundred and ten feet long, had a sitting-room aft, three state-rooms, and a dining-room. The deck, which is above these rooms, extends over more than half the length, and on this we lived all our journey. The crosspiece to which is attached the sail was one hundred and twenty feet long. The galley is way forward and the live stock is carried in a boat dragged

behind. We started on the twenty-eighth of December with twelve sailors, one of whom is called the singer, a reis, a steersman, and cook for the crew, all Arabs and Nubians, besides the dragoman, cook and second cook, and two waiters; so that with our party of three and Cæsar the courier, we were twenty-four souls on board. The men played and sang the whole evening. The song is in the minor key, the musical instruments a darabukkeh, tambourine, and two little round drums. Every night we ran into the bank and tied up, and had to pay two decrepit old fellows to protect the boat. We made, according to whether we had a favouring wind or had to tack, from eight to forty miles a day. I killed two pelicans with the rifle, across the river — a lucky shot, as the distance was nearly five hundred yards and took my highest sight, but it required no skill, as the flock was of several hundred. Both birds were very large, one measuring ten feet from tip to tip. At Gebel el Teir one of the Coptic monks came out swimming to get bakshish. At Minyeh we bought a sheep as a New Year's present to the crew. The first thing in the morning Sallie went forward to feed the sheep, but to her surprise she found one half hanging up, the other half was in the pot already boiling. The crew surrounded a large bowl of broken bread and poured the soup over it, eating it with amazing rapidity, while the reis divided the bones and remnants of meat in equal portions.

Several postal steamers and one Cook's passed us, and we found that our private signal was pronounced too short, it being only fifteen yards long; so we bought more stuff at Assiout and fifteen yards were added.

1882

On January sixteenth we started on donkeys for Abydos, a pleasant ride of two and a half hours through a most fertile plain, visited the temples of Rameses and Seti, and passed several hours at the large temple. The pictures and bas-reliefs in the halls are principally of Rameses making offerings, of Osiris and other gods. The preservation and magnificence of this ruin are wonderful. The northerly wind is sometimes so powerful that there is danger of capsizing the boat, and a sailor has hold of the sheet all the time ready to let go. This happened to us near How, so that after a little tacking we tied up at four o'clock. We take coffee at 8.30, breakfast at 12.30, and dine at 6.30. The sun rises at 7 and sets at 5.30, but the twilight, contrary to my expectations, lasts as long as at home. The stars are brighter than I have ever known them. The tail of the Great Bear is below the horizon at 8 P.M. and the Taurus overhead. At Denderah we visited the temples and went through the passages between the walls where the treasures were supposed to have been secreted. We found these dark dungeons in an extraordinary state of preservation, the walls being as elaborately decorated with the repetitions of offerings and the different gods as the temple itself. The dahabiyehs "Leo" and "Sesostris" were in our company. Weather often cold enough for our thickest overcoats, and so damp that the best tobacco has become mouldy. We console ourselves with coffee, which is made entirely differently from the French — powdered to a fine flour and put with sugar into a small brass pot of boiling water and allowed to simmer for a few minutes, until a froth or, as it is called, cream forms, when it is poured, grounds and all, into the cup.

It is made fresh every time a visitor comes on board. At Luxor we found many dahabiyehs: the "Ida," "Zingara," "Sesostris," "Leo," "Ibis," and "Estelle," mostly with Americans aboard. We dined on the "Ida" with Mrs. Belmont and the Howlands, and thence to the American consul to see a fantasia. The dancing girls were ugly and vulgar. We met there the Wellesleys and Childes, the former of whom kindly consented to accompany us up the river. Our reis having made a vow that if he reached Luxor in safety he would paint the door of the Mosque, his son, the cook's boy, was accordingly sent up with a pot of paint and the door was decorated. We passed several days sight-seeing. It would be useless to enumerate the wonders of Luxor, but I cannot omit the impression made on us by the Colossi. These huge monoliths, built probably in the desert, are now surrounded by the Nile when at its height, or in the midst of fields of wheat. We found ourselves alone, all the dahabiyehs having sailed; but there were two steamers, one Cook's and one Maspero's, the successor of Mariette Bey, who has come here to dig out the Temple of Luxor. We started January twenty-second, and worked very hard all day but made only eight miles. At Esneh we stopped to let our crew bake, the first time since we left Cairo. The reis went off to buy wheat and have it ground. They used five ardebs, twenty-five bushels. The dough is kneaded in large troughs, then made into small loaves which are baked at intervals during the night. It was brought aboard and stowed away on the upper deck. After a day or two it is cut up in slices and dried in the sun until it becomes as hard as rusk. It is quite brown in colour but sweet and good. Its great merit is that it never moulds and maggots never get in it. Mr. Wellesley was painting

all day in water colours. He made a very good portrait of Sallie.

After passing Edfu, when it was quite dark, the crew kept calling across the river. One of the sailors lived in a village near by and wanted some one to come to the shore and take his savings to his wife. They consisted of a napoleon and a half and some calico print to make dresses for his three children, all done up in a blue rag. One of the sailors who could write made a list of the articles. We stopped fifteen minutes to send them ashore. The weather has become much warmer so that we can sit on deck at night without a greatcoat. We passed the "Urania," Lady Duff-Gordon's boat. Oman, her boy, to whom she left the boat, was on board; he now acts as dragoman. The Wellesleys left us at Assouan to return to Cairo. After a day or two the Governor of the Cataract condescended to take us up. We sailed along nicely with some fifty natives on board, who did nothing until we reached the first gate. Here we were met by at least a hundred more Cataract men, amongst whom were a dozen swimmers. These are the only men who do any real work; they jump overboard with a rope in their teeth, swim for the nearest rock, and make fast. After a great deal of hauling and pulling, screaming, howling, and jibbering, everybody giving orders and nobody obeying, by the grace of Allah, "whose name be exalted," we got through to the foot of the last gate. On Monday, January thirtieth, about half-past nine, the scheiks returned with a hundred jibbering savages. The pandemonium continued until half-past one, when we passed the last gate. This part we saw to great advantage from the rocks. From the Cataract to Philæ the river is grand. We walked over the island and sat until sunset on the propylon. We did not then know that the

necessities of all Egypt would compel Philæ to be submerged at some future time notwithstanding a natural sentiment against losing these beautiful ruins. We continued our journey. The climate was warmer, the people were darker, cleaner, and more healthy than in Egypt. The women were covered with castor oil and their hair was plastered down. The palm trees grow three or four out of one stem instead of the single stem as below. The width of the country varies from one foot to one hundred on each side of the Nile, the only cultivated part being the banks of the river when it falls. Our reis spoke to some natives on the bank in passing, but the salutation was not returned; so he, fearing the evil eye, ordered salt to be thrown on the fire.

The four boats, the "Leo," "Ida," "Bessie-Camac," and "Niefert," met at Korosko and remained together. On the "Camac" were a Mr. Murray and his daughter; the latter had an extraordinary talent for water colours and she gave Sallie many valuable lessons. At night, February seventh, we reached Abu-Simbel and burned blue lights before the Colossi, and we visited the temple and waited outside for the moon to rise. We thought it the grandest thing in Egypt. We distributed bakshish to all on board, and after worshipping the rising of the sun-god Ra from the sanctuary of the temple we returned to the boat. The big mast was down; twelve oars take the place of the sail. The men pull three times in succession, at each stroke walking up an inclined board and sitting down to raise the oars out of the water. The singer sings whilst the oars are moved forward. We saw for the first time the Egyptian god, an Ichneumon. He was tied round the body by a string and offered for sale to us for one candle. On the fifteenth we rose at four to see the South-

ern Cross for the last time. It was close to the horizon, a lozenge rather than a cross, and composed of stars of the second and third magnitudes. Our chameleons are quite active catching flies. Their tongues, as long as their bodies, are red. They uncoil them and dart them out like lightning and the fly seems to stick to them. On February twentieth we left before sunrise and went through the gate of the Cataract very nicely. We broke an oar against a rock, but turned successfully at the bottom, passed the wreck of the "Sultana," and would have reached Assouan at once but that we saw the "Bessie-Camac" was in trouble. I walked back a mile and a half and found the "Camac" wrecked and the Murrays trying to save their property through the windows, the Arabs screaming and howling. We brought down the young ladies, and the gentlemen arrived in the afternoon at Assouan, in a boat with all they could save. We agreed to take the ladies to Luxor, where they could find an inn. At Edfu is the best-preserved temple in Egypt. It is larger and much grander than Denderah. The whole temple is surrounded by a high wall covered with pictures, one of which was a boat with a sail set, the men on board spearing some animal in the water. On the twenty-eighth of February we reached Luxor; there the Murrays and Miss Palmer left us to go to Cairo by steamer. We were very much pleased with them and sorry to lose them. Professor Cooke, of Harvard College, came on board, and we met W. W. Phelps, our minister at Vienna, Brugsch the Egyptologist, the Belmonts and Howlands at dinner at the consul's. The dinner was excellent — cooked in oil (castor?). Afterwards a fantasia at which the Governor of Keneh and staff and hosts of Americans were present. The sunsets on the Nile are superb — a very deep orange along the whole

west gradually fading into yellow, green, blue, and black, and usually an afterglow of pink.

Coco, the monkey, enjoys himself. He steals cigarettes, eats all the geraniums, breaks glasses, and ruins the clothes hanging on the lines. Our progenitors must have liked mischief for the sake of mischief. We had a library on board, consisting of the "Arabian Nights," the Bible, and all the books on Egypt we could pick up before starting, but we had read them all through and through.

On our way down we lay fourteen hours on a sand bank, during which time we had a sand storm thick enough to almost hide the sun. The western sky had a most ominous appearance, but by night the wind fell and we got off by one in the morning. The crew had worked hard for twenty-three hours. We found Cairo as cheery and attractive as ever, having come down more slowly than we went up. On sailing days we averaged twenty-five miles going south and only twenty-two and a half going north. We called on the Stones and presented them with Coco, the monkey, and Bent Anat, Hect, and Nemet, the chameleons.

The whole city was covered with bougainvillæas. The steamer "Malwa" took us from Alexandria to Brindisi, thence through Naples, Rome, Florence, and Venice, where it rained all the time. We landed safely in New York, June 18, 1882.

1884

November 8. For the first time for many years the Democrats carried the elections, and Grover Cleveland became President. He had all the South, New York, Indiana, Connecticut, and

New Jersey. Without New York he would not have been elected and in that State his majority was only about ten hundred and forty-seven. This vote, according to the belief of the Republicans, was caused by fraudulent voting in the Tammany precincts of New York and Brooklyn. But the nation submitted and a new era of political mismanagement began. The Democratic party was for free silver, that is, silver at 16 to 1, as compared to gold, which simply meant that the debtor could get rid of his creditor by repudiating half of his indebtedness. Fortunately Cleveland and New York rejected this new way of paying old debts, but he was a free-trader and attacks on the tariff began at once after his inauguration.

I had offered to build for Harvard College a laboratory to be called the Jefferson Physical Laboratory. This building was finished and paid for, I think, in 1884 and cost one hundred and fifteen thousand dollars. No money was spent on exterior decorations. It was of brick with two solid columns built inside but separate from the building to prevent any jarring of the instruments. Electricity had become through the telegraph and telephone of immense practical importance and its connection with light and life itself the object of study, and I felt that no better use could be made of money than to facilitate in the college the teaching of physics to the students, and encouraging original work and discoveries amongst the professors.

1886

In 1886 I gave my adopted town, Manchester-by-the-Sea, a public library. The building was constructed by McKim,

made of coloured granite, and I believe copied from a building in the old country. It was beautiful and adds much to the village, of which it is a conspicuous ornament.

On Commencement Day I was elected one of the overseers of Harvard College, a position I occupied eleven years.

1887

In October the library was finished and we had the dedication with the usual ceremonies, I giving the building to the town and Knight, the chairman of the selectmen, receiving it. It ended with music and some short speeches.

In November I made another excursion out West, going through Montana to Great Falls on the Missouri, Helena, and that great mining camp Butte, where are the smelters and the immense Anaconda mine. On our way back we found the growth of Kansas incredible. Thence from Kansas City to Birmingham, where huge furnaces were springing up in every direction, as ore and coal were found close together in immense quantities. When we reached Boston we had travelled twenty-two days and gone through twenty-six States of the Union without a delay.

In May I bought the yacht "Iroquois." She was of steel, eighty feet water line with a draft of eight feet and a centreboard of eleven. She was designed by Cary Smith, and proved both fast and very seaworthy.

1888

In February the "Iroquois" hauled out of her berth to go to Savannah, and after stopping in New York left Staten Is-

land at 11.30 A.M., March tenth. On the twelfth New York was struck by the severest blizzard she had ever experienced. This lasted several days, the streets so full of snow that it was almost impossible to go from one quarter to another. The wind reached sixty miles an hour; all railroads were stopped and we telegraphed from New York to Boston *via* England, all the land wires being down. In the meantime the "Iroquois" lay to for forty-four hours in the midst of a howling snow-storm; the pouring of oil in small quantities upon the waves prevented them from breaking over the boat. The water was over her lee rail up to the mainmast, but she was as buoyant as a cork. The yacht "Clythera," which went by Sandy Hook about the time she did, was never heard from. The "Iroquois" reached Savannah in good season, where my son had gone to take her to Cuba; and in August she won the Squadron Cruise Trophy and the Martha's Vineyard cup.

We had a most violent strike on the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad of the engineers, and at their dictation the road was stopped February twenty-seventh. As late as March twenty-seventh, the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy directors voted unanimously their approval of the president Mr. C. E. Perkins's course, and that it was their duty to offer a steady resistance, regardless of consequences, to any attempt to take the management of the property out of the hands of the owners. This strike was accompanied by violence, incendiarism, and a desertion of many of the oldest and most faithful servants of the company out of fear of their lives or desire to assist their comrades and prevent others from taking their places. It was fully a year before the road recovered from the losses inflicted by the strikers. The loss in business was enormous, but the directors succeeded in replac-

ing the old men by new, and in refusing to delegate to the Unions the power to run the road without owning a share in it or having any right to interfere with its management.

During the year the attacks on the tariff had become persistent, and I appealed to my stockholders at the Amoskeag, October 3, 1888, to use their utmost influence to defeat the Democratic party. I transcribe only a short part of the argument.

YOU are well aware that it is simply impossible to manufacture coloured goods and fine yarns without protection. From the best figures that I can obtain, if everything that came into the country were free and we paid the same wages that we do now, what costs us one dollar to manufacture could be manufactured for ninety-six cents. In other words, we should save four cents on the gross cost.

"Now labour in our mills takes from twenty to sixty cents of that one dollar according to fineness of the yarn and the amount of colouring material in the goods, averaging about thirty-four cents. According to the most exact figures that I have been able to get, picker hands, carders, mule spinners, and weavers receive in this country from forty to eighty per cent more than they do in England, whilst carpenters, machinists, and masons are paid double. If therefore the products of English labour could be imported free we should have to reduce our labour about thirty-three per cent. In other words, the English could manufacture for eighty-three cents what under free trade, at the present price of labour, would cost us ninety-six cents. It would probably be impracticable to reduce wages sufficiently to meet this difference, as it would require a reduction of the wages of the machinists,

masons, and carpenters of over one-half, and the workers in the mills of one-third. As we could not do this, it would simply mean closing the mills or running them on coarse yarns of about No. 13. These yarns are already made in as great quantities as the country can use, and the export to China is not increasing, as India seems to be taking our place in the China market. If all the mills were turned on these heavy yarns, too many would be produced and most of the cotton mills in New England after a long struggle would have to close.

"We labour besides under a burden of excessive taxation. You may not be aware how enormous this is. According to Mulhall (pages 30 and 31), the best authority I know, the local taxes of the United States amount annually to eighty-four million pounds sterling, whilst those of the whole civilized world, including the United States, are only two hundred and twenty-four million, those of the United Kingdom thirty-eight million. Thus we pay over one-third of the taxes of the civilized world levied for local purposes. He states further that local taxes in the United States vastly exceed the general revenues of the Republic. The Amoskeag Manufacturing Company pays ninety thousand dollars a year in local taxes, where a mill in England of the same capacity would not, I think, pay more than twenty or thirty thousand dollars. In other words, if we earn ten per cent, twenty-two per cent is taken up for taxes. If we earn only five per cent, forty per cent of our earnings goes to taxation. The Englishman would pay from six to twelve per cent.

"I do not of course anticipate that the Free Trade party would carry out their views to the extent of shutting us down; but to judge by the Mills Bill they would go far enough to injure us seriously, for I am struck by the fact that all the argu-

ments used by the President and his party in this political campaign are arguments which would be just as strong after the tariff had been reduced ten, twenty, or thirty per cent as they are now. They all lead directly, by the overthrow of the protective system piecemeal, to complete free trade, and there would be a tendency on the part of the so-called Tariff Reform party to go on in that direction. This of course would lead to a diminution of profits and a lowering of wages.

"*October* 3, 1888."

I mention this because what I said produced the most violent abuse from the Democratic press. One newspaper edited by a man named Moore, now under sentence I believe for embezzlement, had an attack on me almost every day for a month.

The election was coming on in the autumn and I did what I could to help the Republican side. In March I was in Washington with William A. Russell, William Draper, and Sampson and we met Senators Hoar, Dawes, Platt, Hiscock, and Representatives Reed, McKinley, and others to discuss the state of affairs. They are very confident that no bad Tariff Bill can pass this season. To my surprise I found myself received with the greatest kindness and attention. In April I published various articles in the papers. I presided at a meeting at Young's, October thirtieth, to hear reports of the moneys raised in Massachusetts for the campaign and exerted myself to my utmost to bring about the election of Harrison, which took place November sixth. The Senate went Republican, the House about a tie.

On December eighth Mr. William Amory died. He was about eighty-five and still in full possession of his faculties.

When I married into the Appleton family in 1852 I found him an intimate friend of Mr. William Appleton; that friendship he transferred to me and we have been on intimate terms for thirty years. He was a member of the Friday Club, an excellent conversationalist, and a prudent and wise business man, but not given over body and soul to the acquirement of wealth, which came to him almost unsought. I succeeded him in the management of the Amoskeag Mills, and now in the course of time his son, C. W. Amory, has succeeded me. The funeral was at Trinity. I think R. C. Winthrop, Dr. O. W. Holmes, Sidney Bartlett, Wheeler, Beal, and myself were pallbearers, and that the Rev. Phillips Brooks officiated.

1889

In January I invited Dr. Shattuck, James Codman, and C. W. Amory to take a yacht trip to the West Indies. The "Iroquois" sailed for St. Thomas and we went to Old Point Comfort, where we went over the Armstrong school. It had about four hundred negroes and one hundred and forty Indians, and I was much surprised to find the blacks more intelligent than the Indians, whom we have considered a superior race. On February ninth we went on board the steamer "Advance" at Newport News; she was bound to South America *via* St. Thomas and Barbadoes. After a delay of a couple of days we got off, only to meet a cyclone which had just passed northeast of us. On February thirteenth I was sitting in the upper cabin, which had a large, circular opening to the dining-room, a story below; this opening was surrounded by a mahogany railing. The ship gave a violent lurch, which sent the piano

across the cabin and threw me with my back against the rail. I clutched it with all my might, but in vain — over I went, with my head down towards the dining-room floor. I had just time to think how ignominious a death it would be, when I was flung up and forward and landed on the floor of the cabin; the ship having righted itself with the same suddenness. On the sixteenth we anchored in the little harbour of St. Thomas, where the "Iroquois" lay expecting us. The harbour is land-locked and filled by old hulks of vessels brought here to be condemned. There were no less than eight; a Spanish iron-clad and a Santa Cruz packet said to be seventy years old were our neighbours. The "Advance" began immediately taking in coal, which is a picturesque operation: negro women carrying about eighty pounds in a basket on their heads walk up a narrow plank and pour the coal into the hatchway. We went round to the yacht, where we found everything looking comfortable. The next day, Sunday, we drove through the island and saw many tropical trees: mahogany, silk-cotton, calabash, royal palm, cocoanut, tamarind, banana, almond, mango. The oleanders were very numerous and superb. The island is small, not much cultivated, and of little value except for the harbour. It is on the way of many hurricanes, and I think no vessel could escape unless it had put to sea before the storm reached St. Thomas. The next day we sailed for St. Kitts in the teeth of a trade wind which blew a gale, with a bad easterly sea. At midnight we reefed main and foresails; a little later took in staysail and double-reefed foresail. All night we had violent short showers of rain. The next morning we had a fine view of Saba, where the Dutch live in the craters of extinct volcanoes and build boats on top of the mountains which they lower into the ocean. The only access

to the village is an almost perpendicular path. We admired Eustatius, which presents a perfect volcanic cone rising out of the water, and anchored off St. Kitts at four in the morning of the nineteenth after a passage of forty hours. Here we decided, on account of the violence of the trade wind, to wait a day or two. The island is cultivated to the highest point — finest trees, the mango, cabbage-palm, cocoanut, breadfruit; the Flamboyant and Queen of Flowers were strikingly beautiful. The negroes seem happy and civil. The men get twenty cents a day, the women fifteen for their work. We housed our topmast and sailed at half-past eight Friday morning. We had sapodilla, a large brown plum with four to six large black seeds and a taste of decayed pear, for breakfast. We passed Nevis, the birthplace of Hamilton; nor could we forget that Nelson married a Mrs. Nisbet on the same island. At five in the afternoon we were at the loveliest oriental island of Montserrat, where man alone is vile. We were tormented on landing by the negroes; they are coarse and seem to have an Irish accent, as if natives of the Emerald Isle had settled the country. We found a marked distinction between the negroes of the French islands and the English. The former had soft voices, were prettily dressed, and had pleasing manners; the latter were brutal. This must be due to the French associating more kindly with the coloured races than the English. Plymouth is not a harbour, only a roadstead under the lee of the island. Forty-five fathoms of chain had to be taken in before we recovered the anchor and made sail for Antigua, which we reached by seven in the morning, running into the port of St. John without a pilot and anchoring in two fathoms of water about a mile and a half from land.

The evening of February twenty-third we all dined at Gov-

ernment House with Mr. Haynes-Smith, his wife and daughter, and the secretary, Captain Maling. The Governor had gone out as a young man to Demerara to practice law, had risen to be attorney-general, and subsequently been appointed governor. He has many hundred islands under his charge. The daughter had just finished her education in Europe and the son expected to go to Cambridge. The life must be solitary, though none of them showed signs of ill health from so long a residence in tropical countries. The island has not much beauty, being all in cane. We made the acquaintance of cassava bread (the manioc deprived of its poison), yams cooked in their skins like potatoes, the suwarrow-nut, about the size of a claret glass, which tastes like our butternut, and the cashew-nut, which resembles the peanut. Mr. Jackson, the consul, tells us that nine-tenths of the sugar goes to the United States, and that the industry is fairly prosperous, although fully fifteen per cent of the value of the crop is lost to the owner by the villainous system of borrowing on the crops. The climate was equable, rarely above eighty-five in summer, never below sixty-five in winter. February twenty-fourth it was seventy-eight. The English Government have offered one thousand pounds a year to anybody who will build a hotel, on condition that they spend one hundred thousand dollars. But the islands are too much out of the way for summer residents, as you could reach Europe from New York in about the same time. On Sunday, after bidding good-by to our most courteous and charming host at Government House, we sailed for Guadeloupe. We reached Basse Terre after sundown at half-past six, anchoring in fifteen fathoms of water only two hundred yards from shore. These volcanic islands rise so precipitously out of the water that it was necessary al-

most to run our bowsprit against them before we could find bottom for the anchor. There is no business and no harbour; you merely lie to under the lee of the island. As the trade winds blow perpetually from the eastward you find smooth water. The thermometer was eighty, and there was some phosphorescence in the water. There was no American consul and no money-changers. We were shown fifty varieties of mangoes, the avocado pear, the sapodilla, sour-sop, cotton, and coffee. The cacao, the ramie, and the cassava were novelties. From the ramie a woody fibre is taken, stronger than cotton or linen, and made into cordage and mats. Cassava yields more food fourfold to the acre than wheat. All together, nothing can exceed the richness of the soil and the beauty of the landscape.

The cacao is grown under bananas to shade it from the sun. All this was shown us by a French priest from Brittany, who had been seven years with his lay brother trying to teach the negroes. In the afternoon we drove with three mules abreast in an open wagon up to Camp Jacob and over a bridge towards Matouba — the most superb tropical scenery imaginable — tall, graceful tree-ferns, towering trees covered with huge vines clinging and creeping heavenwards for light and air.

We tried the native coffee and chocolate. The coffee is known as Martinique, from the neighbouring island. Almost the entire product goes to France. The coffee was good, but not so delicious as the chocolate, which was just coming into manufacture. It cost one franc a pound and was as hard to procure as the coffee. We bought enough for our journey.

The roads are macadamized, the town clean, the black women all dressed *à l'Impératrice*, with the short waists, in

pretty calicoes. They have shining teeth, although we were told that the black suffers as much from toothache as the white man. The water was about 83° Fahrenheit.

We set sail for Dominica and reached Roseau at night, coming to anchor by the use of the lead in twelve fathoms of water close to the shore. We spent a couple of days on this island, which is one of the most beautiful spots on the earth. Superb gum trees and tree-ferns forty feet high, cinnamon, nutmeg, vanilla, cloves, cocoa, limes, and cane: everything grows and flourishes in this paradise with the tropical sun and two hundred inches of rain in the year. Thirty thousand negroes and only eighty to one hundred white people live here. The negro women do the little work necessary for their existence and that of their children. They are a very fine and large race, superior to the males, who pass their time in idleness and rum-drinking. As by the English law the property of a married couple belongs to the husband, marriages are rare, seventy-five per cent of the births being illegitimate. The climate requires no clothing, and food is to be had from the breadfruit or the banana for the picking. There are no roads, only foot-paths across the island, a large part of which is completely wild. Mr. Haynes-Smith is undertaking to build a road through the interior, but progress is slow as money is wanting. In the absence of Haynes-Smith the government is carried on by a president, Mr. Le Hunte. We noticed that the white paint on our boat was discoloured from the action of sulphur given off by the hot springs in the hills. From Dominica we sailed by Martinique, where we could not land because a quarantine existed against the island on account of smallpox, which had raged two years and been lately renewed and increased by the negroes breaking into the pest-house

and carrying off the infected bedding, which had been stored instead of destroyed.

We found Castries, in St. Lucia, a lovely little harbour, well landlocked. This island is being fortified by the English, who are making earthworks and running galleries in the side of the cliffs overlooking the harbour. The intention is to make St. Lucia another coaling station for their fleet. The few troops now on other islands are to be moved to Castries and when the work is done England will have Bermuda, Kingstown in Jamaica, and Castries to command all the West Indies and bid defiance to Uncle Sam. After a trip on shore we left at six in the morning, passing the Pitons, which were covered with clouds, and being driven ten knots an hour for three hours, passed the Souffrière, the volcano of St. Vincent. Schools of porpoises played round the yacht until we reached Kingstown, where we found a good harbour open to the southwest. March sixth we took a carriage and drove to Government House, where we were cordially received by Mr. Llewelyn, the administrator. The house is a fine airy place well adapted to the climate, with a superb view over the harbour and across the ocean to the Grenadine Islands. The valley in front of the house was formerly a botanical garden, and it was here that the breadfruit, the nutmeg, and the clove were first introduced to the West Indies, the ship "Bounty," well known for its mutiny, being employed for that purpose. The botanical garden has since been removed to Trinidad. We saw two fine teak trees, perhaps the only ones we saw, in these islands. The next day we rode over the Vigi Pass to the Mariaqua valley, where is some very pleasing scenery, with running streams, and good vegetation on the sides of the hills. Arrowroot appeared to be the main article of culture. The

negroes are rougher and coarser, the dress more commonplace, and many of the children naked.

On our way to Grenada we passed the Grenadine Islands, said to be about three hundred in number. They are low lying and not picturesque; but we were told that one of them offers a very large and protected harbour. Under lower sails and maintopsail the magnificent trade wind drove us sixty-two knots in five and a half hours — the prettiest piece of sailing we had done. The harbour of Grenada is a small deep basin surrounded by steep hills, apparently an old crater, the broken edge of the tip forming the channel to the sea. The town is modern, filled with coarse, dirty negroes, and has perpendicular streets and foul drains. We left without regret for Trinidad.

We passed Diamond Rock about two and exchanged the blue waters of the ocean for the muddy flood brought down by the Orinoco. We beat up to Port of Spain and anchored in a crowd of shipping about three-quarters of a mile from the wharf.

In the afternoon we went to the Botanical Gardens. The poui tree was covered with yellow blossoms. We found an immense saman, which closes its leaves at night, a Pandanus putting down aerial roots each covered with a sheath, climbing palms, immense bamboos, Brazil-nut trees, cannon-ball trees, whose fruit seems useless, and palmyra, date, oil, and sago palms in abundance. The Brazil-nut is enclosed in a hard case with one little hole to sprout through, and this case falls always to the ground with the hole up, owing to the greater gravity of one side.

The temperature of the air under some of these flowering trees is sensibly elevated, by several degrees at least, at night,

so intense are the processes of propagation of life and death in these tropical regions.

At night on going below we were startled by strange noises like the crackling of fire, heard everywhere, but most distinctly when the ear was near the side of the yacht. I got up, but could find no fire in the galley or in any part of the boat. There was no smoke, and we decided we were not on fire and might go to sleep, though unable to account satisfactorily for the strange phenomenon. In the morning we learned that the queer noises came from the industrious barnacles and borers at work on the outside of the "Iroquois's" steel hull. When lying at Charlotte Harbor the preceding year, the captain told us, they had made such a noise it was sometimes difficult to sleep.

The most striking excursion we made in this beautiful island was across the mountains down a precipitous descent to Las Cuevas, where was a cacao plantation, the owner of which, a Mr. Fitts, received us kindly. On our way we passed through a most magnificent primeval forest, such as Kingsley describes in his "At Last"; the trees shooting hundreds of feet to reach the light and being embraced, entangled, and destroyed by huge parasites — Lianes, Seguines, Cerimans — some looking like chain cables made of wood, others creeping hand over hand up their victims' sides. We met no monkeys or snakes, although they abound: there are pythons (one of which, killed the other day, was said to have measured forty feet); mapanas and coral snakes, both poisonous. Las Cuevas, which we reached at last tired out, is beautifully situated on the ocean. The immense waves, perpetually pushed by the trade winds, break in foam on the sandy shore, and myriads of pelicans hover over the waters.

We slept at the plantation house very comfortably, but the doors and loose wooden shutters were carefully closed to keep out the miasm at night, as our host had served a lesson of eighteen months of fever when he first began to live here. We had a live mapana (some call it mapinari) in a glass jar, which hissed and struggled all night, but, I am thankful to say, did not get out. The next day we went through the plantation, Mr. Fitts, cutlass in hand, opening the way. The cacao plants are set out in regular rows at a distance of about fourteen feet; when young they have to be protected from the sun by Bois immortelles or banana trees, which are cut down when the cacao has taken firm root. The cacao bushes are not allowed to grow upward beyond a certain height from which the fruit can be easily gathered; they spread out and shade the ground. We came soon to a place where the negroes were clearing the ground preparatory to planting cacao. The soil was rich but full of stagnant water, and immense growths of bamboos, often one hundred feet high, sprang up in every direction. They had been set on fire, and as all the joints of the older bamboos contained water they exploded with much force. It is easier to destroy them by fire than to cut them down; but as the heat reached the roots, every hideous beetle and poisonous crawling thing was driven out, and the mapana we saw yesterday had been caught in trying to make his escape, by the negroes, who slipped a noose over his head and drew him up to the end of a long pole and carried him home on their shoulders. This snake is as deadly as the fer-de-lance of Martinique and resembles a rattlesnake with a tail instead of a rattle.

In the afternoon we returned to Port of Spain, having passed backward and forward from Las Cuevas through per-

haps the most beautiful scenery we had met in the West Indies. Greater praise cannot be given.

After a week in Trinidad we sailed for Cienfuegos, Cuba, where our trip ended; but it would be wrong not to give our impressions of the state of affairs in these tropical islands, and I can do no better than copy Dr. Shattuck's general reflections in his Journal. These were read to the whole party and generally concurred in.

WE were not inexperienced travellers, as most parts of the world could attest, and our pursuits had been such as to give us a somewhat varied and tolerably good knowledge of men and the conduct of affairs, as well as a modest insight into the operation of nature's laws.

"Now it is impossible that we or that our fellow-citizens should not take an interest in the future, and as a corollary in the past, of a region such as that comprised in the chain of islands known as the Greater and Lesser Antilles, which stretches almost from one of our own States to the northern coast of South America, over an arc subtended by a chord with a length of fourteen hundred miles. These islands were the first part of America made known to Europe by Columbus; many of them were occupied by Europeans, were successfully cultivated, and some of them even had prosperous cities, when the oldest parts of our own country were still little more than a wilderness. Ethnological problems, problems in economics, in government, present themselves here as in few parts of the world, offering the existing results and tempting to forecast as to the future.

"The range of temperature of the air during the time we were within the limits of the tropics was very narrow — the

extreme limits being eighty-seven degrees and seventy-eight degrees; only once, though, be it said, was it as high as eighty-seven degrees and only twice, and that early in the morning, as low as seventy-eight degrees. The heat, as a rule, was not very trying, except in the direct rays of the sun; and its debilitating effects arose not from being so great, but from being so continuous. You stepped, as it were, into a warm bath from which you almost never emerged day or night.

"It is not a region in which the white man can labour, or even preserve his vigour at all except by prudent, philosophical living. The movements of the mind as well as those of the body should be, and will tend to become, slow and tranquil. If this is true of men, it is true, in a much greater degree of women. If the white man is vigorous by nature and prudent by habit, the climate just tolerates him; but for the black it is a paradise — whether prudent or imprudent, thoughtful for to-morrow or careless for to-day, he grows fat, thrives, and multiplies.

"In these facts is really contained the sum of all wisdom as to forms of government, labour problems, commercial products, etc. The negro will work, and work for a moderate remuneration; he will not work for insufficient or uncertain pay. In all the islands except Cuba, the negroes greatly preponderate in numbers, and in some, a white population can hardly be said to exist; there are a few white families. Under negro rule — and that is what democracy means here — life, property, and the pursuit of happiness would be uncertain, and under no rule that cannot guarantee these will capital and enterprise find their way into these islands — even were the inducements otherwise many times greater than they are. We say this without hesitation, notwithstanding our knowledge

of individual instances of Americans (meaning thereby men from the United States) having cultivated land profitably and successfully as concessionnaires in San Domingo. From Trollope to Froude, over a space of thirty years, this is the one conclusion to which all must and do come.

"This being the case, it follows that the United States want no closer political connection with communities so situated; we have had and still have enough and more than enough of this sort of problem in our Southern States. The spectacle of one political party bidding for, and of another political party suppressing a negro vote, is not edifying to mankind or favourable to democracies. The countries which own these islands may settle these questions, but the lot of those called upon to do so will not be an easy or a happy one — and the less so should abstract right and good be the ends sought. The Governor of a Crown Colony with large aspirations and limited resources, and the Governor of a colony endowed with a constitution and with negro suffrage are alike deserving of sympathy. Colonies entail navies, as would extraneous States in a Federal Union; without navies they are a temptation to predatory nations, and with navies they are an expense.

"The United States have already a sufficiently varied and extended territory and a sufficiently unhomogeneous population to test all its political ingenuity and all its powers of racial assimilation.

"Therefore we may well say to these islands: We will buy from you and we will sell to you, but we will not federate with you and we will not govern you. As to the commercial future of these islands, the following would seem to be a fair forecast:

"I. In tropical countries agriculture, manufactures, or commerce will always be conducted in a more or less wasteful manner, and the degree of success must be estimated by the degree of waste which is inevitable or permissible.

"II. For the smaller islands, where operations must necessarily be conducted on a small scale, it must be at the best checkered and precarious.

"III. For the larger islands, under favourable solutions of the government and labour problems, a good degree of prosperity ought to be in store, but the days of unlimited profits from the product of the soil have gone, probably never to return. Too much virgin soil is constantly being made accessible, and means of communication are too well elaborated in all parts of the world, that such a story should repeat itself. Safety will be found in a more varied culture; too severe a lesson has been given and taken to heart that men should again risk all on a single crop, as they did with sugar-cane. Cacao is still very profitable and will probably continue to find its market, though probably at reduced rates. Cane has met its beet-root, and West India coffee its Rio, and the cacao planters will do well to heed this.

"IV. The capacity of the United States for the consumption of cheap fruit — bananas and oranges — is practically unlimited, but the fruit must be both cheap and good. The present fruit trade with Jamaica is growing and will continue to do so, especially if the Colonial Office at London does not stand in the way of concessions to American capital, as it did stand in the way of the ratification of commercial treaties with the United States. An attempt now being made to establish a line of fruit steamers between Trinidad and our States should meet with success.

"As a winter resort for invalids, sight-seers, and people seeking an escape from Northern winters, all of these islands except Cuba and Jamaica — the latter by fast boats from some Florida port as Tampa — labour under the disadvantage of too long a sea voyage. In this respect they must compete with Europe. But even if the voyage were braved, there are no accommodations worthy the name for numbers of people, except at Havana, and at many of the islands there is not even a decent boarding house.

"V. In the winter months no one need be deterred from visiting the islands on account of venomous insects or reptiles — that is, according to our experience; hardly a fly or a mosquito did we see afloat or ashore, much less scorpions, centipedes, jiggers, fer-de-lance, or mapinari — always excepting one dead fer-de-lance and one live mapinari in bottles. Of course, travellers living more on shore in all sorts of places could hardly be so entirely fortunate as this, at least as regards flies and mosquitoes. As for the wonderful beauty of form, of colour, of vegetation, of surroundings of such islands as Gaudeloupe, Dominica, Martinique, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Trinidad, there can be but one opinion. Of these the French islands — and among them it is fair to include Dominica, as it is French in everything except the government — are in our opinion altogether the most interesting (unless one excepts Trinidad) and certainly among the most beautiful. In the French islands the negro element is more picturesque, more gentle-mannered! The whites give more the impression of being permanently settled, of being at home and that for more than a generation; they seem less like tenants at will or birds of passage anxious to get what they can and go to a better place ("home," as England is called by all, whether to the

manor born or not) than the whites on the English islands. At Trinidad the coolies with their native costumes and the numerous cacao plantations are picturesque features."

We returned *via* Havana, but the glory of Cuba had departed. Sugar-cane had been made unprofitable by the beet-root of Europe. The Spaniards had ruined the inhabitants by excessive taxation; the administration was corrupt and justice venal. The beautiful vehicles, the gorgeous dresses, the noble theatre, the luxury and *dolce far niente* of 1861 had all disappeared; poverty and discontent on one side, robbery and tyranny on the other, had produced civil war, or at least bands of refugees, often runaway slaves, that made the eastern part of the island insecure.

On my reaching Tampa I was met by the news of the death of my lifelong friend Mr. Sidney Bartlett, and with a notice that the President had appointed me on the Pan-American Commission.

This was an International Conference of Delegates from the United States, the Republics of South America and of Central America, the Empire of Brazil, Mexico, Hayti, and San Domingo, brought together at the invitation of the President of the United States for the purpose of discussing and recommending for adoption to their respective governments some plan of arbitration for the settlement of disagreements and for considering questions relating to the improvement of business intercourse. It was a favourite idea of James G. Blaine, who presided at the meetings. All the nations sent delegates, of which ten were from the United States, and from one to three from each of the other powers, each power

having one vote to be controlled by the majority of its delegates.

The questions at issue were so important that I give them as adopted:

I. Measures that shall tend to preserve the peace and promote the prosperity of the several American States.

II. Measures towards the formation of an American Customs Union, under which the trade of the American nations with each other shall, so far as possible and profitable, be promoted.

III. The establishment of regular and frequent communication between the ports of the several American States and the ports of each other.

IV. The establishment of a uniform system of customs regulations in each of the independent American States to govern the mode of importation and exportation of merchandise and port dues and charges, a uniform method of determining the classification and valuation of such merchandise in the ports of each country, and a uniform system of invoices, and the subject of the sanitation of ships and quarantine.

V. The adoption of a uniform system of weights and measures, and laws to protect the patent rights, copyrights, and trade marks of citizens of either country in the other, and for the extradition of criminals.

VI. The adoption of a common silver coin, to be issued by each government, the same to be legal tender in all commercial transactions between the citizens of all the American States.

VII. An agreement upon, and recommendation for adoption to their respective governments of a definite plan of arbi-

tration of all questions, disputes, and differences that may now or hereafter exist between them, to the end that all difficulties and disputes between such nations may be peaceably settled and wars prevented.

VIII. And to consider such other subjects relating to the welfare of the several States represented as may be presented by any of said States which are hereby invited to participate in said Conference.

The Conference assembled in the diplomatic chamber of the Department of State, Washington, District of Columbia, at noon the second of October, 1889, and Mr. J. G. Blaine, Secretary of State, delivered an address of welcome.

On the organization of the Conference, standing committees were chosen on the following subjects:

I. Executive Committee.
II. Committee on Customs Unions.
III. Committee on Communication on the Atlantic.
IV. Committee on Communication on the Pacific.
V. Committee on Communication on the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea.
VI. Committee on Railway Communication.
VII. Committee on Customs Regulations.
VIII. Committee on Port Dues.
IX. Committee on Sanitary Regulations.
X. Committee on Patent and Trade Marks.
XI. Committee on Weights and Measures.
XII. Committee on Extradition.
XIII. Committee on Monetary Convention.
XIV. Committee on Banking.
XV. Committee on International Law.

XVI. Committee on General Welfare.
XVII. Committee on Rules.
XVIII. Committee on Credentials.

I was placed on the third committee relating to Communication on the Atlantic, on the eighteenth on Credentials, and on the thirteenth on Monetary Convention. This was by far the most serious question to come before the Conference. The other members were Estee of California, Mexia of Mexico, Martinez Silva of Colombia, Alfonso of Chili, Velarde of Bolivia, and Zelaya of Honduras. It was at a time when the silver fever in the United States was at its height, a very large number of people and many of the leading men of the country believing that by coining silver *ad libitum* and making it a legal tender, it would rise in value to 16 to 1 as compared with gold, and that we should have a bimetallic currency, which would add greatly to the circulation and the prosperity of the country. The most prudent class, who were generally from the East, considered this doctrine fallacious and that as soon as we adopted the free coinage of silver all our gold would be exported and we should find ourselves on a monometallic basis of silver, in the condition in which most of the South American States, China, and India, and generally the least prosperous and least civilized nations of the world were at the time. In the meantime silver kept declining steadily and this increased the bitterness and fears on both sides. In the United States all the South and most of the West were for free silver. My colleague, Mr. Estee from California, was for free silver. Of course, all the South American States wished to have the right to coin a silver dollar which should be a legal tender in the United States, and I was left alone on the committee on the side of gold. I went several times to

Boston and New York to consult with the ablest men I could meet before preparing my minority report, about which more will be said later.

The Convention travelled through the United States, where they were received with enthusiasm and the utmost hospitality. I recollect particularly a magnificent reception given them by the Union League Club of New York. I did not accompany them through the West and South, but went with them to New Hampshire to show them the superb works of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company, of which I was then manager, and where ex-Senator Clark presided, and welcomed them with his usual fervid eloquence. On their return we settled down to business in Washington, meeting usually three times a week, the rest of the time being taken up by committee work. They were all picked men, and I was struck by the eloquence of almost all the Spanish race, their beautiful language lending itself wonderfully to oratorical display. On our side we had the most brilliant man then living, James G. Blaine, and to assist him the leading business men of the country, such as Carnegie, Cornelius Bliss, Studebaker, Flint, and others, besides that wise and astute diplomat William Henry Trescot of South Carolina, and our chairman, ex-Senator Henderson of Missouri. The discussions were able and instructive.

In January, 1889, the first vote was taken on Weights and Measures; it was as follows:

Resolved, That the International American Conference recommends the adoption of the metrical decimal system to the nations here represented which have not already accepted it.

The report on Railway Communication was accepted February twenty-sixth. It was in sixteen sections, and contem-

plated building a road, or using those already in existence, from the United States through Central America and South America down to the Argentine Republic, connecting if possible the important cities, all material to be free from import duties, all property pertaining to it to be free from National, State, and municipal taxes, that the road should be forever neutral for the purpose of securing freedom of traffic, etc., and ending "as soon as the United States shall receive notice of the acceptance of these recommendations by the other governments it shall invite them to appoint the commission of engineers referred to in the second article in order that it may meet in the city of Washington at the earliest possible date."

This project, unfortunately, was too magnificent to be likely to succeed, and although of untold value, was allowed to drop by the administration of Cleveland when he succeeded Harrison.

The report of the Committee on Customs Unions excited very long and bitter debate between the Latin delegates, Argentina and Chili being particularly averse to any free trade or reciprocity resolutions. After discussions which lasted from February 28, 1890, to the middle of April, the Conference adopted a recommendation which left the matter where it was before, to the wishes of each government.

In March the Conference adopted unanimously a report on Communication on the Atlantic. It recommended the aiding of one or more steam lines to Brazil and Rio de la Plata. The fast steamers of not less than five thousand tons shall average at least sixteen knots. Each State shall have the right to impose their flag and register upon the vessels to a number proportionate to the percentage of the aid they pay.

The contracting governments shall contribute to the fast line in the following proportion: United States, 60%; Argentina, 17½%; Brazil, 17½%; Uruguay, 5%; all vessels to be built in the United States.

On the Communication on the Pacific, the report of the committee recommending subsidy not to exceed thirty cents per gross ton for each one thousand miles sailed for steamer of four thousand tons making fifteen knots, was not adopted, but the matter left to the governments of the countries bordering on the Pacific.

On the Gulf of Mexico and Caribbean Sea, the Conference unanimously recommended granting aid of government in establishing first-class steamer service.

They recommended a common nomenclature on all commodities on which duties are levied, abolishing consular certification of manifest of vessels, bonded warehouses approved, no internal duties on imported commodities, wrecked merchandise to be entered without invoice, an appeal be given to importers against excessive fines or duties to a tribunal, the establishment of an American International Bureau for the collection, tabulation, and publication of all commercial information. This bureau became known as the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics.

Port Dues. Vote of Conference:

I. That all port dues be merged in a single one to be known as tonnage dues.

II. That this one charge shall be assessed upon the gross tonnage, or in other words, upon the total carrying capacity of the vessel.

III. That each government fix for itself the amount to be charged as tonnage dues, but with due regard to the general

policy of the Conference upon the subject, which is to facilitate and favour navigation.

IV. That there be excepted from the provisions of Article I the dues charged or to be charged under unexpired contracts with private companies.

V. That the following shall be exempt from tonnage dues:

1. Transports and ships of war.

2. Vessels of less than twenty-five tons.

3. Vessels which from unforeseen and irresistible causes shall be compelled to put into port deviating from their course.

4. Yachts and other pleasure boats.

On Sanitary matters that the provisions of the International Convention of Rio de Janeiro, 1887, or the draft of the Sanitary Convention of the Congress of Lima, 1887–88, be adopted, Mexico and Chili opposing.

On Trade Marks and Patents the report adopts the decisions of the South American Congress of Montevideo.

On Extradition of Criminals:

I. Recommends the treaty of penal international law made at Montevideo by the South American Congress, 1888.

II. The making of special extradition treaties with the United States by all the Latin American nations.

Chili voted no against the first proposition and has never made a treaty with us.

The report of the Committee on Monetary Convention was submitted March 12, 1890. It was signed by all the Latin American delegates and recommended that an international silver coin be issued to be a legal tender in all the countries represented. My colleague, Mr. Estee, agreed with the majority but wanted the legal tender right cut down to fifty dol-

lars. I wrote a long report which I give in an appendix* and which was combated by Estee, Romero, Mexia from Mexico, Alfonso from Chili, Quintana from Argentine Republic, and Aragón from Costa Rica, to which I answered to the best of my ability by pointing out that as long as we remained on a gold basis the States of South America being on a silver or paper one, the legal tender dollars they were allowed to coin would go to the United States and gold be taken in exchange at a profit to them of thirty-three per cent and the same loss to us. It seems, now that the silver craze is practically over, that so obvious a proposition could not be doubted by many of the American delegates. The Latin Americans either did not believe it or wished to profit by it. After endless discussion the matter was put off to an International American Monetary Union to be called in Washington in a year. Mr. Blaine did me the honour of offering me the chairmanship of this commission, but knowing that it would come to nothing, I respectfully declined getting involved again in a silver argument.

On the question of establishing an American International Bank the vote was unanimous "that the Conference recommends to the governments here represented the granting of liberal concessions to facilitate inter-American Banking," etc.

President Harrison advised Congress to grant a charter and I think that bill passed the House twice at different times owing to the efforts of my friend Mr. C. R. Flint, but as yet after ten years we have never been able to get the necessary legislation for a bill which would go far towards facilitating commercial intercourse between the Latin South American countries and ourselves. Now they pay commissions to Eng-

**See Appendix.*

land and sell all their exchange through London, and merchandise has often to be shipped for South America from New York *via* Hamburg and London.

International Law:

I. Recommends accepting treaties of private international law adopted at the Congress which met at Montevideo, August 28, 1888.

II. That a document be considered duly legalized when legalized in accordance with the laws of the country wherein it was made and executed, and authenticated by consul of country where used.

On Diplomatic Intervention, the Latin American States tried ingeniously and carried by vote a clause by which a nation has not nor recognizes in favour of foreigners any other obligations or responsibilities than those which in favour of the natives are established by the constitution and the laws. In other words, whatever be the complaint of a resident foreigner he has no recourse except that of a native to the courts; this excludes all diplomatic reclamation and would allow the South American Republics, which are bankrupt and in a perpetual condition of civil war, to repudiate all debts to foreigners. Of course the United States voted against this, W. H. Trescot pointing out the hidden intention with much ability. The United States voted also against a report "That rivers which separate several states shall be open to the free navigation of the merchant marine or ships of war of riparian nations." Of course a negative by the United States put an end to both these propositions.

The last act of the Conference was very properly a condemnation of war. They resolved in eighteen articles that arbitration was obligatory, except where in the judgment of any one

of the nations involved in the controversy the question might imperil its independence, and they established a court, and having recommended arbitration for the settlement of disputes among the Republics of America they begged leave to express the wish that controversies between them and the nations of Europe might be settled in the same friendly manner.

They ended their official labours by voting:

I. That the principle of conquest shall not, during the continuance of the treaty of arbitration, be recognized as admissible under American public law.

II. That all cessions of territory made during the continuance of the treaty of arbitration shall be void if made under threats of war or in the presence of an armed force.

III. Any nation from which such cessions shall be exacted may demand that the validity of the cessions so made shall be submitted to arbitration.

IV. Any renunciation of the right of arbitration made under the conditions named shall be null and void.

Chili, the aggressor of South America, alone refused to vote for these resolutions, but in the farewell of Mr. Blaine that great statesman said: "If in the spirit of peace, the American Conference agrees upon a rule of arbitration which shall make war in this hemisphere well-nigh impossible, its sessions will prove one of the most important events in the history of the world."

For the sake of clearness I have given an account of the doings of the International Commissions and return now to my Journal.

On August twenty-fourth I went to Portsmouth and joined President Harrison's train. I sat next to him at dinner and

discussed the silver question, which was the absorbing one of the day. The President was not unwilling to see bimetallism established if it could be done through the whole civilized world, but we know this to be impossible. On his arrival at Manchester, New Hampshire, he was met by fireworks and a procession, ending by a reception at Governor Cheney's, where I slept. The next day we drove him through the yards of the various mills. I was very much pleased with him. Intellectually he is superior to most of the later Presidents. I have never met a man more thoroughly conscientious and desirous of doing his duty without regard to labour. His judicial appointments in contrast to Mr. Cleveland's were excellent. As an orator he was most fluent and powerful, but his enemies found fault with his manners, which were wanting in graciousness. He certainly had not the art of saying no in a pleasing manner, and unfortunately, as this had to be done daily, he offended many of his supporters. He was small without an imposing appearance. This is all that can be said against him. I think he made, upon the whole, the best President we have had since the war.

W. A. Russell and myself invited some of the principal merchants, August twenty-eighth, to meet Senator Hoar, who was here on a committee on our relations to Canada, and I appeared a few days later before the committee, which consisted of Butler of South Carolina, Pugh of Alabama, Dolph of Oregon, and Hoar. The Canadians wanted free fish and were inclined to make relations between the two countries as disagreeable as possible to obtain that end. But Hoar had made a most exhaustive study of that matter, which enabled him to crush the treaty made by Bayard under the Cleveland administration, which yielded everything without receiving

any *quid pro quo*. This matter dragged along for some years until it was left to a joint High Commission, the details of whose actions will come up later.

On October fifth my colleagues of the International Commission arrived at the Vendôme on their way through the Eastern and Northern States. I think Blaine was desirous of impressing them with the greatness, the wealth, and the power of the United States. We took them to the Waltham Watch Factory, the Para India Rubber Manufactory, to the various reformatories, and Harvard College. Mrs. J. L. Gardner gave them a brilliant reception at her country house in Brookline. The party consisted of Zelaya (Honduras), Zegarra (Peru), Valente and Mendonça (Brazil), Aragón (Costa Rica), Silva and Peraza (Venezuela), Martinez Silva (Colombia), Castellanos (Salvador), Velarde (Bolivia), Calderón (Colombia), Nin (Uruguay), General Henderson, Clement Studebaker, Senator Davis, C. R. Flint, and myself. We went afterwards to the Pacific Mills at Lawrence, Russell Paper Mills, thence to Lowell, and the next day to Manchester to see the immense establishment of the Amoskeag Cotton Manufacturing Company. I accompanied them no further, but heard of their progress through the West. Studebaker's palace at South Bend, Indiana, was unfortunately burned down before their arrival, and I have a photograph of the party amongst the ruins.

In November I went to Washington to attend the Conference, and took rooms at the Shoreham with Mr. and Mrs. Newbold. I called on Secretary Blaine, whom I had only known by sight, and was delighted by his charming manners and varied conversation. During the winter I became intimate with him, walking with him and going to his house three

or four times a week. It is difficult to describe the peculiar fascination he exercised over everybody who saw much of him. He had taken part in all the great political events of the past twenty-five years, had been repeatedly brought forward as President in the Republican ranks, had been Speaker of the House, and was the most eloquent man I have ever met, not forgetting Daniel Webster. His eulogy on President Garfield has never been surpassed. But his most remarkable faculty was a memory which never forgot a face or an event. I had once dined in his company in Massachusetts years ago; he reminded me of it and could name the guests. Once whilst walking with him he was stopped by an old farmer from the State of Maine, with whom he chatted familiarly. When we left I said to him, "You did very well, Mr. Blaine, as you could not have known who the man was." "Why," said he, "the man's name is so-and-so; he has a farm in such a county; his father was alive when I saw him." He had never met him but once. Mr. Blaine could relate anecdotes of every house in Washington and of every family. Although attacked and abused most violently, he did not seem to know what resentment was. In his charming book "Twenty Years of Congress," he mentions only two persons with slight severity, Schurz and Bayard, and yet nothing had been too vile or abusive for all his adversaries from Massachusetts to Texas to pour upon his devoted head. He was at the time I knew him the most prominent man in the United States, and I suppose, as was the case with the celebrated Lord Dufferin, whom I knew later, the fascination came from an imperceptible flattery which the kindness and attentions of such a man would naturally produce.

He has been accused of trickery in politics and dishonesty

in money matters, and I should not do myself justice if I did not say that I do not believe a word of the accusations. Senator Hoar, who did not like him, told me that he was on a committee to investigate the famous or rather infamous charges made against Blaine by Mr. M., in which he was accused of stealing railroad bonds, and that he, Hoar, had satisfied himself that there was no ground of any kind for the calumnies. I saw him constantly until the time of his death, and I think it would have been impossible for so brilliant and constant a talker not to have shown a want of truth or at least an obliquity in his moral sense if any such had existed. He was worshipped and venerated by his family, and one of the pleasantest recollections of my past life is that so great a man thought me worthy of regard.

On December thirtieth I breakfasted at Mr. J. A. King's to meet Admiral Worden. What made this occasion worthy of record amongst the thousand and one brilliant entertainments in the American Capital was that Worden gave an account of the battle between the "Monitor" and the "Merrimac," in which he immortalized himself, and John Jay told us of the same encounter as a looker-on from the shore.

1890

On Wednesday, April sixteenth, the International Conference gave a great dinner to the President at the Arlington. The table was a round centre covered with flowers and with six long arms spreading out in a circle, at which sat the guests; the President at the end of one of the arms, the Chief Justice at another. Most of the Justices of the Supreme Court, the Cabinet, and many senators and members of the diplomatic

corps were present. Zegarra, our vice-president, spoke a few words of welcome. I sat between the famous Senator Allison and the Japanese minister. Clem Studebaker was opposite. He and Allison had played together as little barefooted boys in Illinois. Studebaker's father was a travelling blacksmith; Allison's, I think, a justice in the little village. Studebaker had packed all his family in a cart and moved over to South Bend, Indiana, and his son Clement had become the millionaire owner of a vast wagon-building establishment and his stages and farmer's wagons were to be seen in every country from the Transvaal to California. Allison's father had moved to Iowa, and the little boy had grown to be one of the leading senators and one of the oldest in the United States; and there were the two men sitting opposite one another sixty years afterwards, when each had obtained the highest eminence in the line in which good fortune and ability had thrown him.

Another interesting dinner was given to the members of the International Conference by one of its body, Mr. Carnegie. There were fifty guests seated at a round table covered with flowers. The Speaker, Tom Reed, and some of the Cabinet were present. There was very fine singing and music. I recollect particularly a performance on the French horn by a Miss Alice Raymond. During the dinner a man dressed in the Carnegie plaid walked round the table making night hideous with a bagpipe. Carnegie, who had begun a poor Scotch lad, had risen to be perhaps the greatest iron master in the world and had acquired immense wealth. He was full of information on every subject, and lived part of the year in Scotland, where he united great benevolence to most radical views on Government. He had published a book called, I believe, "Triumphant Democracy."

On April nineteenth our labour came to an end and we called on the President, who delivered an admirable farewell address. Our work had been conscientiously done, and although the Democratic administration which came into power put it one side with the prejudice attending everything done by Republicans, we had laid the foundations of a wise unity between all the North and South American States, which will in time be of great advantage to all of them. I had passed a most agreeable winter in Washington, where we met the most remarkable men in the United States, such as J. G. Blaine, Speaker Reed, Cabot Lodge and Roosevelt, Sherman, Senator Hoar, McKinley (afterwards President), Sir Julian Pauncefote, and others. Mrs. Hitt from Illinois and Mrs. Cameron from Pennsylvania were distinguished by personal charm as well as great hospitality.

The Senate passed in July the famous silver conference bill to coin four million five hundred thousand of silver per month. This had a temporary effect on the value of the white metal, but it began to fall soon again and reached the lowest point a year or two later.

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who had married an American, the daughter of William Endicott of Salem, was in New England and I met him often. He was very young looking; although fifty-four you would take him for forty-four; dark and not handsome, but with an intellectual forehead. The face, however, had too much shrewdness to be agreeable.

On November fourth to my surprise and regret the Democratic ticket swept the country. In the House they had about one hundred and thirty majority and in the Senate were only in a minority of four. The high tariff in the United States had not been running long enough to show its advantages, but

had made many bitter enemies; then, what was called the Force Bill, to protect the negroes at the South in voting, although it did not pass did us great injury, and we had to contend with the Farmers' Alliance in the West, which advocated Socialism and free silver.

In November by invitation of Senator Davis of West Virginia I travelled in a private car through Cumberland and West Virginia. Senator Henderson, Carnegie, Phipps, and Cobb were of the party. Davis had when young been a brakeman and a very good one. The story was told before his face of his having fallen asleep in the Senate when a senator blew his nose with such violence in front of him that he was awakened with a start, and thinking he had heard the whistle to shut down brakes, seized his senator's desk and begun turning it round with violence. At that time the brakes were put on by hand at a signal from the locomotive. Carnegie told me that one of the estates of the Barings had been offered to him very low for cash. As there were reports of financial trouble in England in which the name of the Barings was mentioned I was much struck by this fact, and if I had used my judgment should have sold property to prepare for the storm; but action unfortunately requires much resolution and is delayed by most people until too late to do good. [The same want of courage prevented me from selling the stocks I owned when, two years later, Cleveland was elected President, and yet I knew perfectly well that a Democratic administration would bring ruin on the commerce of the country, as it did. From the fall of 1890 until 1896 business was bad, securities falling continually, and the dread of repudiation by the free coinage of silver hung like a pall over us. The election of McKinley in 1896 brought an era of prosperity, which led in 1899 to the

passage of a Finance Bill declaring gold the only standard and making all bonds payable on that metal.]

But to return to my trip. We went through lovely scenery, the mountain-sides being clothed with rhododendrons, to Davis, where we found a little snow owing to an elevation of some twenty-five hundred feet. The place took its name from the senator who lived there. At Elk Garden we went into a coal mine fourteen feet high and passed hundreds of coke ovens on our way to Elkins, the centre of the industry in West Virginia. We lunched with Mrs. Elkins, the wife of the present senator, the beautiful daughter of our host. Thence back to Cumberland and New York, where I stayed with J. C. Carter, the most charming of men, but a violent free-trader, so that our discussions were long and convinced neither party. I found great trouble in New York. The Bank of England had borrowed two million pounds of the Bank of France to prepare for danger, and finally on the fourteenth we heard of the failure of the great house of Barings, for many years the most important of the world. Lord Ashburton was dead and a new set of young men had pulled down by unwise speculation the work of their fathers. On November seventeenth the banks issued clearing-house certificates as a nation in trouble puts out paper currency. The Merchants Bank in Boston by good management found itself strong enough to help others; the deposits in the Merchants rising instead of falling owing to the confidence of the public.

1891

On the fourteenth of January the Senate passed the free coinage of silver by a large majority. It could, of course,

never become a law, but it frightened the country and added to the general uneasiness. On the twentieth we had a meeting at Faneuil Hall to protest against it. H. L. Higginson presided and speeches were made by Francis Walker, Lane, Lovering, and F. Haven, Jr., and others. I presented the resolutions, and was sorry to find that my voice was not strong enough to be heard, as this will prevent me from making speeches or taking an active part in politics. At the Arkwright Club resolutions to be forwarded to Congress were passed against free silver. The country was startled a few days later when Secretary Windom dropped dead at Delmonico's, after making a speech against the same evil. I had seen a good deal of him in Washington, and had a great respect for his honesty of purpose. When appointed Secretary of the Treasury I think he vacillated a little on this question, but the responsibility of managing the financial affairs of a great country made him conservative, and he came gradually over to the side of sound currency. General William Tecumseh Sherman died February fourteenth, in New York. In August I received a letter from the President inquiring for somebody to send to England on the silver question, I suppose with the view of inducing the Government to try bimetallism. I do not know what answer I gave, but I never had any belief that England, who was the centre with her pound sterling of all the exchange of the world, would for a moment consent to alter the money standard.

On October fifteenth the iron fly-wheel of a two thousand horse-power engine at the Amoskeag flew to pieces. Four people were killed and some nine seriously injured. The building was destroyed and large pieces of the wheel were thrown high enough to lodge on the roof of a five-story mill adjoining.

The engineer was killed, but the steam had been shut off by him, showing that he had warning of the trouble. The cause was undoubtedly the defective casting of the immense wheel, whose speed was probably increased by some unknown cause until it could not bear the centrifugal force. Since then all our fly-wheels have been constructed of pieces of wood firmly bolted together.

On October thirty-first I was called to meet the Clearing-House Committee to consult about the condition of the Maverick Bank. Its condition was so bad that it had to be shut up the next day. I telegraphed to the President a request to have Mr. T. Beal appointed receiver, and received a complimentary letter from Mr. Harrison in reply. Mr. Beal took charge and managed the affairs with great ability. The president of the bank, a Mr. Potter, owed it one million three hundred thousand dollars, one director eight hundred thousand and another three hundred thousand, the collateral notes being signed by type-writers, porters, and clerks; but although these gentlemen were arrested and tried, none of them were convicted, owing to the defects of the law regarding national banks.

The Home Market Club had its usual dinner at the Vendôme, four hundred and eighty-five at table. Major McKinley, Senators Hoar and Aldrich, and Speaker Reed were present. William Draper presided. The elections had been more favourable to us, although New York elected a Tammany governor, Iowa went Democratic, and Massachusetts, although Republican, elected a Democrat for governor. At another dinner at the Commercial Club, Professor Goodale and a Mr. James spoke on Forestry. They warned us against the cutting down of trees which hold the water back and pre-

vent violent floods in the rivers, to be succeeded by dry beds. The danger was illustrated by a statement that the consumption of wood for paper in New England was seven hundred thousand cords a year or a pile that would reach from Boston to Chicago.

1892

On March twelfth there appeared a piece in the "Transcript" stating that the New England senators had proposed my name to the President for minister to France to succeed Whitelaw Reid, who had resigned. This was the first I had heard of the compliment which undoubtedly Senators Hoar and Lodge had paid me. On April twenty-eighth my name was sent to the Senate by the President, and after some delay, caused by two or three of the silver senators, confirmed. The newspapers were unusually polite and I received many letters of congratulation and telegrams. The place pleased me and I looked forward to a short stay in Paris, expecting on the re-election of Harrison to make way for some politically more important nomination. I was obliged, to my great regret, to accept a public dinner in Boston, where my friend William A. Russell presided, and where I had to go through that, to me, so terrible an ordeal an after-dinner speech. I got off fortunately and had to undergo another trial at a dinner given by J. C. Carter, in my honour, at the Union League Club, from which I was summoned by telegram to Washington to receive some instructions about the Seal Conference, which was to take place in Paris and the management of which was in charge of General Foster, who succeeded Mr. Blaine as Secretary of State under the Harrison administration. The Gov-

ernment pressed me to go at once, and after very hard work I left the United States in the latter part of May, 1892, on "La Touraine," one of the French steamers running from New York to Havre. I was accompanied by my wife and Mr. and Mrs. F. R. Sears, Jr., and their children. We reached Havre during the first week of June, and came up to Paris, where we found comfortable quarters at the Hotel Westminster. The health of Mrs. Coolidge was such that it was necessary for some other lady to take charge of the social duties of the legation, and my daughter filled her mother's place in Paris with the greatest charm. I attribute to her manners much of the good will and kindness with which I was received by the French, whose courtesy and friendship made my stay in their capital the happiest year of my life. I had been in Paris as a boy, a young man, in middle age, and now when past sixty-one, and I enjoyed the last residence the most.

My first duty, after going to the Embassy, was to call on the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Ribot. On the seventh of June I went by appointment to see him. M. Vignaud, the First Secretary, accompanied me. M. Vignaud was a small man of about sixty, who had held the positions of First and Second Secretaries for nearly twenty years. He was born in Louisiana, but had resided so long in France that he spoke French much better than English, and was, in appearance and manners, a Frenchman. I found him a most invaluable, industrious, and intelligent assistant. The Count d'Ormesson was at the hotel of Foreign Affairs to receive me. He held the position called in France the Introducer of Ambassadors, and had to look after all the details of diplomatic receptions. He has since become minister to Denmark.

M. Ribot received me in his private cabinet. He is a tall,

handsome man about fifty-four years old, with light-coloured hair and friendly manners. He was, I believe, originally a professor in some college, and has always been distinguished by oratorical power. He spoke about the Minneapolis Convention. I said that we might know something about it by Thursday, the ninth, but I thought that either Harrison or Blaine would certainly be nominated and elected. I praised both. He said that he had not been "saisi" with the Bering Sea controversy, but understood that the United States had appointed referees and counsel; that in reading the convention between Great Britain and the United States, he found it was stated that the referees should, if possible, be acquainted with the English language. Now that might be difficult — the younger men in France understanding and speaking English, but the older men, whose age and services entitled them to the position, did not generally understand the language. I told him that the President was very anxious that he, M. Ribot, should nominate, as a French referee, a jurist understanding thoroughly English, because our counsel, although amongst the most distinguished men in the United States, did not know French; that, of course, the decision of the tribunal could, if he desired it, be given in French, which was the diplomatic language. He replied that as this tribunal sat in Paris, it seemed to him that the decision ought, with propriety, to be in the language of the country in which the court was held. He made a very strong point of that, to which I acquiesced. He continued that, although he could not say who should be named, as he had not been asked before officially to appoint anybody, he would do his best to find a referee who understood English. Indeed, all his opposition seemed to disappear with the understanding that the decision

of the tribunal should be rendered in the French language. The rest of the conversation, all of which was held in French was on every-day matters. I rose, after twenty minutes or so; he went to the door of the room with me, and M. d'Ormesson to the bottom of the stairs. The latter told me that the President of the Republic would be ready for my official reception on Friday or Saturday.

On my return to the hotel I met a good many tradespeople, and amongst other things hired a landau, and also a coupé by the month. The carriages and harnesses are to be new, but I am to provide liveries, and to pay the coachman of the landau one hundred francs per month *pourboire*, and sixty francs to the coachman of the victoria. Four horses are to be provided for daily use for the large carriage, and two for the small one. For these I am to pay two thousand francs per month, which is about what it would cost me in the United States. The servants, however, receive only about one hundred francs a month, besides their wine and their liveries, which is not more than half what they would get in New York.

On my arrival at the hotel I had found an invitation waiting for me from the celebrated Lord Dufferin, the English ambassador at Paris, to dine on this day. Mrs. Coolidge not being well enough to go out, I asked permission to bring my daughter, Mrs. Sears, and we started together at eight o'clock, the hour named, for the English Embassy. The streets were unusually crowded, and we were delayed, so that we did not arrive until a quarter past eight. This would have been the proper time in America, but I found that in Paris we were expected to arrive at the hour named. We were received in a hall by four or six servants in full livery and knee breeches, but we were not shown into any room where Mrs. Sears could

take her things off, or arrange her dress. The footman follows his mistress into the hall, and there takes charge of her cloak and shoes, etc., which he keeps until she comes out of the dinner. This indicates a very much milder climate than exists with us; for it would be impossible for a lady to take off her things in a hall, and have no means of arranging her toilet, if she were wrapped up against snow and cold. The head butler, in evening dress, then took charge of us, conducted us through two large drawing-rooms, and, throwing open the door of another, announced the Minister of the United States and Mrs. Sears. We found that we were the last people, and that about forty persons in full dress were standing about the room. We knew nobody by sight. Lord Dufferin, however, came forward in a most amiable manner and introduced us to Lady Dufferin, who wore a diamond tiara. The company consisted of two or three of the French ministers, the German and Russian ambassadors, and M. Poubelle, the Préfet of the Seine. All these gentlemen were accompanied by their wives, so that the dinner amounted at least to forty people. The First Secretary of the Embassy came forward with a plan of the table, and the exact place where I was to sit, and then he took me up and introduced me to the lady with whom I was to go in to dinner. She was Madame Poubelle, the wife of the Préfet of the Seine. I was, as I expected, one of the lowest in rank present, and went in after almost all the others.

The French are very particular about all questions of etiquette, and the rank at table is guided by the decisions of the Congress of Vienna. The Nuncio holds the first place, and always sits on the right of the hostess; after him, the ambassadors, taking rank in accordance with the time in which they have been in the country; after the ambassadors, the minis-

ters in the same order. Now as the American Government chooses its ministers every four years, they are almost always at the bottom of the list; so that nine ambassadors and twenty to twenty-five ministers outrank them. This makes a rather ridiculous position, for it compels the minister of perhaps the greatest power on earth to sit below envoys of little Spanish republics or insignificant States. However, as these gentlemen are only invited to great diplomatic dinners, you are not often obliged to submit to a position unworthy of the country. The same precedence took place on the days on which we called on the Minister of Foreign Affairs. For a minister, one door was thrown open, and he waited in the room, sometimes for hours, until the ministers who had arrived before him had got through with their audience; but if an ambassador arrived, both doors were thrown open, and he was immediately received by the minister, although others might have been waiting for hours. I often spoke to the French about this state of affairs. Their only answer was that it was our fault in not sending ambassadors, and that, although they regretted it, they could not alter the decision of the Congress of Vienna. I spoke on this matter to Senator Hoar, and other senators, who passed through Paris, and had the gratification to see a bill, signed by the President, authorizing the United States to send ambassadors instead of ministers. My successor, therefore, will take the rank due to the importance of the country he represents.

To come back to the dinner at Lord Dufferin's, it was handsome, and quite short, lasting about an hour and a quarter. After that there was a reception of some four or five hundred people. I made the acquaintance of some of the ministers and ambassadors, and there were a great many people

whose names and faces I shall find very difficult to recollect. Lord Dufferin, as is well known, is one of the most distinguished men living. He has been Governor of Canada, Viceroy of India, and ambassador to almost every important country. He was sent to Egypt to settle the difficulties there, and he appears to have been employed whenever great tact was required. He was a man of about sixty-four, with mustache in a point, as we usually see in the picture of Napoleon III; the imperial rather small. He has written an admirable little book, called "Yachting in High Latitudes," and also a life of his mother, both of which are charming. Lady Dufferin was a Hamilton. The two families of Hamilton and Blackwood had estates in Ireland adjoining one another. They were not on good terms, and the Hamiltons put up some stables and buildings which interfered very much with the Blackwood property. In the next generation, when peace had been made, all these objectionable buildings were given away, or rather were leased for a rental of a silver rose, or spur, yearly; so that Lord Dufferin had to send his wife yearly one of these ornaments, a great many of which lay on the table. There were also a lot of silver trowels with which he had laid cornerstones all over the world, and gold and silver cases in which, I believe, were contained the rights to citizenship conferred upon him by various cities. The Marchioness of Ava is very fine looking, but with an appearance of reserve and shyness. On further acquaintance I found her, however, to be one of the most conscientious, intelligent, and amiable of women. She has written a book on Canada and one on India, both of which are considered good.

June 8. House hunting with Mrs. Jay and Nora, and we authorized Arthur to bid fifteen thousand dollars for the Monte-

fiore House, which is on the Avenue Marceau, corner of Rue Bassano, and near the Legation.

June 9. I wrote my first despatch to the Secretary of State.

June 10. The weather was extremely hot, but at quarter past twelve Count d'Ormesson called at the Westminster Hotel with two state carriages and a company of lancers. I got into one of the carriages with the Count, who was covered all over with decorations, and the secretaries and attachés got into the other. We made our way through the Champs-Élysées to the Palace of the President. In driving into the courtyard, I found half a regiment of blue troops drawn up presenting arms, which I acknowledged by taking off my hat. At the bottom of the stairs I was met by an officer in full regimentals, and every ten or twenty steps another one presented himself, until I reached the reception room. Here we found President Carnot, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and four or five of his staff. I delivered the letters of recall of my predecessor, and also my credentials from the Government, and, with some difficulty, made a speech in French containing the usual commonplace compliments. The President answered me very kindly, referring to my ancestor, Thomas Jefferson, as having occupied the same place in Paris one hundred years before. Afterwards I sat on the sofa between MM. Ribot and Carnot, and succeeded in turning the tables, by pointing out to him that he was a grandson of the great Carnot, but had succeeded, by his own merit, in reaching a much higher eminence than his illustrious ancestor, whereas I had done nothing. The conversation was quite animated and agreeable. Count d'Ormesson brought me back with all honours to the hotel. Vignaud, Jay, and Captain Ward were my staff.

A curious custom exists, which I think must have come

from the Middle Ages. On their first presentation the minister sends three hundred francs, the ambassador five hundred to the Household of the President. Has this not taken the place of the "largesse" we read of in history as being called for and thrown amongst the crowd when an ambassador made his first solemn entry to the capital to which he was sent? An amusing account of the immense expense of such an entry is given in Perey's "Life of the Duc de Nivernais," who was sent as ambassador to Rome by Louis XV., in 1751.

I called the same day on the wife of the Foreign Minister. She occupied one of the numerous palaces which Napoleon built, and which have been taken possession of by the various officers of the Republican Government. The rooms are very large, often four or five *en suite*, with very handsome tapestries, but little or no furniture, except what is arranged alongside the walls. They are evidently only meant for receptions. Madame Ribot sat at one end of the room. There were two rows of chairs diverging on each side so as to form a letter V. These were occupied by French men and women, who kept coming and going; but they appeared to me to be stiff and awkward, and the charming hostess had to do all the conversing. I suppose the visitors were mostly the wives of various inferior members of the Government. When your name is announced at these receptions, the hostess rises, shakes hands, and places you exactly in the position that etiquette allows. We were generally, therefore, in the first chairs. After four or five minutes you make your bow. You write your name down in a book which is handed to you by an usher in one of the antechambers, so that your visit may be returned, either in person or by cards. The French are excessively exact in leaving cards. They often do it several times. Thus, if you

invite a stranger to dine, he will generally leave a card before the dinner and another within two or three days afterwards, besides going to call on your reception day. As you have to be equally attentive, it becomes a matter of severe labour. We had to keep two large books, in which the names of the visitors were put down, the day when they called, and when their cards were returned, and it took my secretary two or three hours a day, in the brougham, to leave cards; and even then many mistakes could not be avoided.

June 11. I sent a telegram to President Harrison and Whitelaw Reid, congratulating them on their nomination for President and Vice-President.

I received an invitation from the President and Madame Carnot to sit in their tribune at the races for the Grand Prix. My first idea was to accept the invitation, but, being told that my predecessors had not done so, and that it would shock a great many religious people to have their envoy attend races on Sunday, I declined. I think, however, that it was a mistake, as I saw nothing wrong in it myself, and as the newspapers published my name as sitting with the President.

I went in the afternoon to a garden party at Lord Dufferin's. It was in the English Embassy, which, as you know, is in the Faubourg St. Honoré. It has a large garden, which runs all the way down to the Champs-Élysées. This palace, formerly occupied and owned by the Princess Borghese, the sister of Napoleon, was bought by Wellington when the allied armies took possession of Paris. I think the price paid was six hundred thousand francs, and it is now supposed to be worth ten times as much. There were some two thousand people present. The Government were there in full force, and the wife of the President; all the best-known English and Americans in Paris,

and also a great many from the Faubourg. A great many of the most aristocratic families of the Quartier St. Germain will have nothing to do with the Republican Government. They refuse to associate with either the President or the ministers, and are very seldom met on common ground. I was cordially received, as well as my daughter, and introduced to a great many people.

Sunday, June 12. The races for the Grand Prix. Fred, Jeff, and Clara went.

June 13. I called with M. Vignaud, my First Secretary, officially on the President of the Senate at the Luxembourg. M. Le Royer is an old gentleman of pleasant manners and agreeable conversation. Thence I went to the Pope's Nuncio, Monseigneur Ferrata, a small man, speaking French with perfect fluency, but with an accent. I found him polite and intelligent. I then left cards on the Foreign Minister and the principal officers attached to his department. That evening we dined in the Faubourg with the Count and Countess Montsaulnin, and met several well-known French names, such as Broglie, Boutray, and Massa. The hostess is, by birth, an American, but has lived so long in France as to have become in every respect a Frenchwoman. You have no idea how many American women marry in France. We hear of English marriages, but I was surprised at the number of American women in the Faubourg. They are all beautiful; most of them rich. They become French immediately, and I cannot tell you how often, and how pleased I was, time after time, on being introduced to a French countess, to hear a little voice say, "I am from Chicago," or "New York." The French marriages, contrary to the common idea, seem to me generally happy. The mother, in France, stands on a pedestal, and

both the husband and the children treat her with that gracious reverence which you see so often in French manners.

After dinner I went to a reception at the English Embassy, and thence, about midnight, to Mrs. Ayer's, an American lady of great wealth and hospitality. We heard at her house Van Dyck, the greatest living tenor, and Mademoiselle Sanderson of the Opéra Comique, who sang to the accompaniment of Massenet. Then there was a comedy, in which Mademoiselle Reichenberg, of the Théâtre Français, took the principal part.

June 14. An official reception at one o'clock by M. Floquet at the Palais Bourbon. He is the Speaker of the House; a large man of determined appearance, who, becoming involved during the session in the Panama scandal, lost his place, and was succeeded, as Speaker, by the future President, Casimir-Périer. Thence I went to the Spanish ambassador's, Mandas. Madame Carnot had named a day on which she would receive Mrs. Coolidge, but, unfortunately, she was too unwell to go, and Mrs. Sears and I called alone to apologize. I paid my first hotel bill to-day. It amounted to twenty-one hundred francs, which is very much more than it would have been in the United States.

June 15. The etiquette here is that the ambassadors notify a new minister when they will receive him, and it is his duty to call. Following this, I went to Lord Dufferin's. His manners are charming. Instead of stopping at the head of the stairs, as all ambassadors do, he linked his arm in mine, and took me down, showing me various objects of interest which he had collected, principally from India. I saw also Lady Dufferin. I then went to the Austrian ambassador's, and in the evening to the Princesse de Sagan's. Her hotel, like many others, has a

garden, I should say at least two acres, in the very centre of Paris. It is capable of receiving two thousand people, and at this season of the year they pour out into the garden, making a very pretty sight.

June 16. I went to-day, for the first time, to a great reception of the President. He lives in the Palais de l'Élysée. There is nothing particularly interesting in an official reception, where several thousand people are invited. They are pretty much the same all over the world.

On my return, late at night, I found the acquiescence of the French Government to our request to appoint members to the silver conference. [This was a bimetallic conference, called by the United States, in a vain endeavour to get the nations of Europe to establish free coinage of gold and silver at a fixed ratio, which took place later at Brussels, but nothing was accomplished. The French are in very much the same position as the United States with regard to the condition of their currency. They attempted, in the year 1865, through what was called the Latin Union, to establish a bimetallic system, and to receive and coin all gold and silver presented at the mints, at the rate of fifteen and one-half. The five-franc piece was to be an international coin in Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, and France. This did very well until silver began to decline in value, and when, in 1876, it had reached seventeen and one-half to one, the flow of silver to the mints became so large that it would inevitably have drawn away all the gold, and put them on a silver monometallic basis. They were obliged, therefore, in 1877 and 1878, to stop all coinage of silver, and have never coined any since, except, of course, subsidiary pieces. A little over two hundred and sixty millions of silver had been coined, and France was left with five

or six hundred millions of silver, worth now less than fifty cents on the dollar, to keep on a par with gold. They have succeeded in carrying this load, but with great difficulty. Fortunately for them, the French people make much less use of cheques than ourselves, so that a much larger amount of currency is required to carry on the daily business. We keep no money at all, paying everything in cheques; but in every house in France bills and gold and silver are locked up, and the common expenses are paid in cash taken from the drawer. The peasants in the country keep their money in their stockings, and, with the exception of bonds of the nation, I do not think they hold any securities, or use banks. But, notwithstanding that, the Government parts with its gold very charily. My banker told me he could not get out of the Bank of France more than fifteen hundred dollars a day in gold. They do not absolutely refuse to pay drafts, but they throw every difficulty in the way, so that gold is often at a slight premium. As all payments in daily life can be made in paper or silver, this is no inconvenience. Taught by their own experience, the French realized that the United States could not carry out bimetallism without the assistance of all the civilized world, and as they knew that England and Germany were not prepared to join us in such an attempt, they took but little interest in the Brussels Conference, which took place whilst I was in Paris.]

June 17. The Legation was much bothered by the desire of many members of the American colony that I should petition the French Government for Deacon's pardon. This man had committed a murder on finding a Frenchman in his wife's room; but he appears to have been very deliberate about it, as he got the hotel clerk to accompany him. All together, the

whole affair has been a most disagreeable American scandal. The murderer was sentenced to one year in prison, after a fair trial, and I think about half his time has expired. The sentence did not seem to me, taking everything into consideration, to be a severe one. Nevertheless, after consulting my predecessor, Mr. McLane, I wrote to the Foreign Secretary, stating that if the Government thought it proper to release Mr. Deacon, it would give much pleasure to the numerous American citizens residing in Paris. With their usual kindness, the French Government released him a few weeks after the application.

I was officially received by Essad Pacha, and afterwards by M. Loubet, Président du Conseil (Prime Minister) and Minister of the Interior, a small, not distinguished-looking man, who rolled his *r*'s, but seemed, as they all do, very polite. He said the French were taking the greatest interest in the Chicago Exhibition; but when I praised his palace and referred to his occupation, he complained of being overworked, and said he was desirous of getting rid of the place. This he did very soon afterwards. I met, the same afternoon, at the reception of the Foreign Minister's, a great-grandson of Lafayette, named Corcelle. He holds a position somewhat similar to our First Secretary, under the name of Directeur des Affaires Étrangères. In the evening Mr. White, First Secretary of the American Legation in London, and Jay called upon me, to talk over the Bering Sea question. It is thought very important that a man thoroughly familiar with English should be appointed, and White thought he might do some good through his acquaintance with Jusserand, one of the employées of the Foreign Office. My son Jefferson and his wife Clara left to-day for America by the one o'clock train

for Havre. They sail at three o'clock to-morrow in "La Gascogne."

June 18. At the Legation discussing with Vignaud, Jay, and White the Bering Sea controversy. Sent two despatches to Washington, and received one. I finished my official calls to-day, by going to the Russian ambassador's, the Baron de Mohrenheim; to the German ambassador's, Count Münster, and left cards on thirty-one or thirty-two foreign ministers. I got in at only one or two places. I was much pleased with Duê, a friendly and agreeable man, who has been for a great many years the representative of Sweden and Norway.

June 19. We had White at home to lunch. He had seen Jusserand, who said he thought that even Renault would not be a big enough man to be made arbitrator by the French, but that some ex-ambassador would be named.

June 20. I had further conversations with M. Ribot relating to his selection of an arbitrator in the Bering Sea matter. This is very important, because the French arbitrator will certainly be chosen chairman, as the conference takes place in Paris, and although the strict letter of the law is undoubtedly against us, we have equity on our side, and it is very important that a man of large views, and not a technical jurist, should be chosen. The controversy, in a few words, is one which amounts to more than a million of dollars a year. The seals are being killed as they go out to find food for their young to whom they give birth on the Seal Islands in Bering Sea, by poachers, principally from Canada. In a short time they will be exterminated. Now, our contention that the Bering Sea is a closed sea, cannot possibly be allowed. Another argument, that the Bering Sea was not included in the Pacific Ocean in the past treaty, is of doubtful strength, and, as these seals are

slaughtered a great many miles from the shore, we have really no claim to any protection, unless it is considered the duty of all civilized nations to prevent harmless and beneficial animals from being ruthlessly exterminated in the open waters. In other words, whether it is not for the common good to class such destruction of property as you would piracy. The Canadians, of course, who are represented by the English, will claim that the seals are not the property of the United States. That contention, however, we can probably meet, as the seals pass half the year on an island belonging to us, to which they return regularly to calve, and upon which they rear their young; and where, if we wished, we could brand them like a herd of oxen.

We occupied the box of Madame Carnot at the Grand Opéra, which had been kindly sent to Mrs. Sears, and we were accompanied by two of our very handsomest countrywomen, Mrs. Jay and Mrs. Whitehouse, one dark and the other blonde. The opera was "Lohengrin." Madame Courval, who was a Ray from New York, had also invited us to her box, and I went there to thank her.

June 22. I had a talk with Phipps, who holds the rank of minister under Dufferin at the English Embassy, and he agreed with me as to the desirableness of the Bering Sea arbitrator understanding English. I have been, all along, afraid that the English might send counsel who knew French, and that we might be at great disadvantage if the principal judge understood our language imperfectly; besides, the Secretary of State, Mr. Foster, has urged this matter very strongly upon me.

I went to the "Mairie" to witness the civil marriage of Bertha Harjes, the daughter of Harjes the banker, with

Charles Waddington, a nephew of the Waddington who is ambassador from France in London. The bride and groom stood in the middle; Mr. and Mrs. Harjes, Winthrop, and myself on the left; Mr. and Mrs. Waddington, another Mr. Waddington (a cousin), and Mr. Siegfried, deputy from Havre who has since become Minister of Commerce, stood on the right. The Maire read the code, asked the groom and bride, both fathers and mothers, if they consented, and made a very pretty address, in which he complimented the parents and hoped that the groom would be as worthy a citizen of the Republic as his father. In one book only four witnesses signed, besides the parents and the newly married couple. In another book everybody present was asked to sign. As I was one of the sponsors, I signed in both. On my return I sent a basket of flowers to the bride, as I was told it was the custom to do.

I dined with my old friend, Marié, at Laurent's which is a café in the Champs-Élysées. The company was interesting as showing how much inter-marrying there has been in France. We had the Count and Countess d'Aramon, the latter of whom was an American; the Princess Brancaccio, Lady in Honour of the Queen of Italy, also from this country; and the Marquise de Talleyrand, a Curtis of New York; besides many others.

June 23. A hard rain. We received many despatches from Washington, relating principally to the Bering Sea controversy. I went at noon to the religious marriage of Miss Harjes to Charles Waddington. The law requires the civil marriage, but no good Roman Catholic considers that the marriage is accomplished until the Church has given its sanction. In the cortège up the aisle of the church, I led Mrs. William Waddington, wife of the ambassador As the cere-

mony was at noon, I had dressed, as would have been proper in America, in a frock-coat, with a flower in my buttonhole; but, to my horror, I found that the eight or ten gentlemen present were all in dress clothes. In France you put on dress suits on every official occasion. A Frenchman will dine at half-past five in a frock-coat and wear a white cravat and dress suit at the reception of the President, or at an official funeral at eleven in the morning.

I dined at the Munroes'. I will give here a list of the company, but shall not repeat it, as dining out or receiving company seems to be the life of the diplomatic body, and I think that I was hardly alone a single evening in Paris. The dinner was very handsome, but what struck me was the profusion of jewels, which are much more worn than they are in this country. I think one reason for that is that the family jewels remain in the family; whereas, ours are divided after every death. We had Count and Countess Montsaulnin, Prince and Princess Brancaccio, Baron and Baroness de Seillière, Lady Anglesey, Mrs. von Hoffmann, and others.

June 25. On arriving at the Legation I found the secretaries in a state of great excitement. It appeared that a Frenchman, clerk in the Navy Department, had been arrested at the door of the house in which Captain Borup, our military attaché, lived. The wretched man had got some plans of fortifications of Toulon on his person, and he acknowledged having been bribed by Borup to purloin the plans, which he carried to the captain's apartment and left long enough to have them traced. He then put them back in their proper places. I sent for Captain Borup immediately; and cross-questioned him on this matter, when, to my great surprise, he not only acknowledged that he had done it, but seemed to take great pride in it,

as if it were an advantage to his department in Washington to have these plans. He was in a state of great excitement. Of course it is perfectly useless for us to possess plans of seaboard fortresses in France; for, even if war were possible, we have not a fleet to cross three thousand miles of ocean and attack a French city. Some of the French newspapers had already made abusive attacks on the American Government, and the whole thing was most unfortunate. I decided to go at once to the Foreign Minister, which I did. I found M. Ribot very indignant, and walking up and down the room. He told me that he had already written me a letter; that this surreptitiously procuring plans of fortifications would be of little consequence if they had been traced for the American Government, but that he had positive information that Borup had given or sold them to the Italian and German Embassies; that the plans which had been seized on Granier had been offered for sale to the Germans, who had declined to buy them, but who had made use of our foolish attaché as a cat's-paw. I acknowledged at once that Borup was guilty of having bribed the clerk to furnish the plans; but I said that as he was a gentleman, an officer in our army, and, besides, a man of considerable means, I did not for one moment believe that he had been guilty of selling the plans to the German or the Italian Legation. I told M. Ribot that I would telegraph at once to my department, and request the immediate recall of the attaché; that I was exceedingly sorry for what had happened, and trusted that it would not interfere with the kindly feelings which existed between the two countries. On my return I sent a despatch to the Secretary of State, requesting the immediate recall of Captain Borup, and received a notice on the morning of the twenty-eighth, from the War Department, to send him

home. I communicated this to M. Ribot, and desired Borup to leave France immediately and go to England, where his family could join him in a few days, after settling any domestic affairs they might have in Paris. I was afraid that, if he remained in France, personal quarrels and duels might take place between him and any of the French officers whom he might meet. He was, himself, in a state of violent excitement, and had already talked too much about the affair to newspaper reporters. For a few days the papers heaped the most violent abuse on the United States and the Legation, and it took, I think, one or two months before the relations between the Government and myself became as kindly as they had been upon my arrival. To end this matter, I would say that Borup returned to America, but does not appear to have been blamed by his Government. The French demanded that he should be punished for such a flagrant breach of international hospitality. To this we replied that nobody in the United States could be punished without a trial, and that he should be tried whenever the French Government saw fit to produce evidence of what he had done. The French, however, although pressing very hard that he should be in some way punished, never would produce any evidence. They told me that they had conclusive proof of his having given the tracings of various fortifications both to the Germans and the Italians. I assured them that we were prepared to punish to the utmost any action of Captain Borup which was contrary to military law. This assurance placed us in the best position possible. I felt quite confident all along that the French would never produce the evidence, because the only way in which the French Government could have known of these plans being in the possession of the Germans and the Italians must be by

having had recourse to bribery, which they could not acknowledge.

June 29. To-day Lord Dufferin called for me, and we went together to deliver officially our joint notes asking the President to appoint an arbitrator for the Bering Sea controversy. That evening we gave a little dinner to Mrs. Chamberlain in the Café of Armenonville. The dinner was excellent, but the climate is too treacherous to undertake an open-air entertainment. It was cold and damp, and it sprinkled. There was, however, a great crowd at the café, many of whom we knew.

June 30. I went to the Salon at the Champ-de-Mars. The collection of pictures seemed to me poor, and I did not like Sargent's. That evening my daughter and myself went to M. Bourgeois's, the Minister of Public Instruction and of Fine Arts. We got there at a quarter before eleven, and found a tremendous crowd, through which it was almost impossible to penetrate. There was nobody to take charge of us, or announce us, and we were seriously thinking of going home, when Commander Pistor, who belongs to the President's household, saw us, and forced his way through to the front seats, where we sat down near Madame Lozé, the wife of the Préfet of Police. M. and Madame B. did not know of our presence. After a comedy and some singing, supper was announced. The host took the arm of Madame Floquet, the wife of the Speaker, and went into the supper room. We made our way out as well as we could, and came home.

There appeared to-day a remarkable letter from the Pope in favour of the French Republic, and calling on the Monarchists to stop their opposition. This letter excited a great deal of attention, and I think displeased the Popish party very

much, but it was really simply an acknowledgment on the part of the Pope that the Republican Government in France was firmly established.

July 2. I wrote a private letter to Secretary Foster, in which I spoke of Borup's case, and of the mistake in sending military attachés who are young and zealous, but who cannot find out what they want without adopting improper measures. It were much better not to make any appointment than to be involved by their indiscretion. I pointed out, also, to the Secretary, that the selection of an Italian as a referee in the Bering Sea controversy was considered in Europe unfortunate for us, as we had just had a serious trouble, growing out of the New Orleans murders, and the feeling in Italy was not only adverse to us, but extremely favourable to England, on whose fleet they depended to protect the Mediterranean in case of a war with France.

July 4. As we had not moved into our house, we gave a reception at the Continental. The rooms were very handsome, and everything went off in the very best manner. We shook hands with some six hundred Americans, one of whom was a negro. It really gave me a great deal of pleasure to see my compatriots. Amongst them were several women who were studying painting or music in the Quartier Latin. These poor girls are generally without means, and devote the best years of their lives to music or painting. I am afraid that nine out of ten do not succeed, and have to find some other occupation on their return to America; but you cannot help admiring their indomitable courage. There are probably five hundred of them in Paris.

July 5. We were much occupied in getting ready the house, corner Avenue Marceau and Rue Bassano. It is a large house,

with four rooms *en suite* on the avenue, where the sun falls all day long. The furniture is very handsome: altogether too handsome to let. The dining-room was hung with tapestries, was at the corner of the two streets, and could hold conveniently twenty or twenty-four people. Next to that came a small salon, Louis XV., hung with silk; then the principal drawing-room, which was Louis XVI, and last of all a library, filled with Japanese hangings and curios. This room was two stories high, and had a balcony running around the top. On the east side of it was a large and comfortable smoking-room. These apartments were up one pair of stairs, the kitchens, hall, and servants' rooms occupying the ground-floor. I paid the rent a year in advance, and we moved in three or four days later. We found the house very comfortable, and house-keeping so different from what it is in the United States as to seem almost perfection. Everything was managed by a head cook, who bought the food and sent in a menu every day, so that we could have twenty people to dine without any discomfort at a day's notice. The butler hired the servants, and bought everything that was needed in the household, returning his accounts weekly, but I noticed that he was always a week or two behindhand. Of course we were robbed, but I think elegance and comfort are worth paying for. We had eleven men in all, and only one woman, Mrs. Coolidge's maid, all the chamber work being done by men. These men had two suits of liveries, one for work in the house, and the other, which they put on at eleven o'clock, for going to the door, or waiting at table, or driving on the box. Food, fuel, and rent were much higher than in the United States, but luxuries and delicacies of every kind were very low. Take, for example, the article of flowers. The handsomest basket would not cost

over twenty-five or thirty francs, against the same number of dollars in Boston.

We dined at the Lee Childes', and afterwards took Susie and Caleb Loring to the Français to hear "Frou-frou," Madame Carnot having sent us a box.

July 8. We dined at the German ambassador's, Count Münster. The only ladies present were Nora and the Countess. We got to know them quite well, and liked them very much. Their manners were very simple, and formed a striking contrast with the French and English families. They were very fond of horses and also of dogs, one of which, an Italian greyhound, which had been given them by the late Emperor, Frederick William, was a great pet.

July 9. To-day I had one of the usual annoyances. A certain Madame Thierrot called, in great distress, and requested me to become bail for her husband for three thousand francs. This man, whom I did not know, but through whom I had bought some wine, had been arrested for theft, and the wife, an American, believing him, of course, innocent, thought it the duty of the ambassador to protect him and take him out of prison. It appears that he was seen looking in at a shop window at the time that some diamonds were stolen. He was arrested, under the oath of one of the clerks, and put into prison. I suppose it was a case of mistaken identity. I declined, however, with many regrets, to furnish the three thousand francs. The fellow will, I suppose, have the same remedy that he would have in America, of suing the jeweller for false imprisonment; but I suppose the jeweller has nothing, so that he cannot recover.

Sunday morning, July 10. I received a despatch from Secretary Foster, asking me if cholera existed in Paris. I went at

eleven o'clock to the Préfet of the Seine, Poubelle, in the Tuileries, and, I am afraid, disturbed him a good deal; but when he found that all I wanted to know was the sanitary condition of the town, he said that there was much cholera nostras in the suburbs, caused by the filthy state of the Seine water, which is polluted by sewerage, and very low, but that there had not been a single case of Asiatic cholera. I suppose that cholera nostras is what we called cholera morbus in America. I telegraphed the information to Secretary Foster. People were beginning to get frightened, and on the next day, the eleventh, I received a despatch from Abbott Lawrence, asking if it were safe for him to come to Paris. I answered that I thought it entirely so.

July 13. I sent to-day to the Foreign Office the demands of the United States as regards certain territory in Africa which adjoins the State of Liberia. It appears that the French had made treaties with certain negro chieftains who pretended to own land which the State of Liberia claims as under its government. A very strong message was sent to me, requesting — almost ordering — the French to give up this territory, and, although I considered that we had absolutely no right to intermeddle with independent States in Africa, I wrote the strongest despatch I could, and sent it in. This negotiation was an interesting one, and lasted through the whole time that I was in Paris; but I think that I can explain it more easily by putting it down at once. I did not go to the Foreign Office for some days, feeling that they would be offended; but, falling in casually with the minister, he pointed out that we did not claim to have a protectorate over Liberia, and that consequently we had no right to interfere with any treaties the French might wish to make with the negro tribes. In

other words, he considered it contrary to international law and a piece of impudence for us to interfere, and that he should say so to our Government. This was all conveyed in very civil language. I said to him that I agreed with him in the justice of the view he had taken, but that I should be very sorry to have him write to our Government a message which would offend them and do no good, and that I hoped he would let the matter drop, as, after all, it was only a different opinion on a question of international law. M. Ribot followed my suggestion, and made no answer to my letter and reclamation, and the American Government seems to have paid no attention to the matter for many months.

[I heard nothing more of this matter until the twenty-fourth of November, when Lord Dufferin told me that the French had opened diplomatic relations with an agent of the Republic of Liberia here, and that M. Ribot had stated openly that the French could not recognize any interest the United States had in Liberia, as they, the United States, did not claim a protectorate. I had some difficulty in getting hold of the agent of Liberia, whom I found to be Baron Stein, who had come from Belgium for this purpose. I had several long conversations with him in the early part of December, in which he consulted me about all the terms of this secret treaty. My recollection of it is that the French paid the State twenty-five thousand francs, and gave them a much larger tract of country in the interior than they, the French, had taken possession of on the seaboard. There was also some stipulation about the hiring of labourers. I think this treaty was made by the French in consequence of our remonstrance, but they were not willing to acknowledge that, and never notified us of their transactions. On the eighth of the month Stein sent me a copy of the pri-

vate treaty, which was to be signed at five o'clock that day, and as soon as it was signed I sent a copy, with maps, to my Government. A little later I sent a copy to the English Legation. It was not until the twenty-eighth of January that I received long despatches from my Government, insisting on my calling on the French for an answer to the remonstrance I had made July thirteenth against encroachments on the Republic of Liberia. I thought this was an unfortunate demand, because we had gained our object in inducing France to treat with Liberia as an independent State, and they could not for one moment allow that we had any right to interfere with their actions in Africa. I supposed, however, that England had sent to Washington an unnecessary account of the conversation between M. Ribot and Lord Dufferin, in which the former had said that he should take no notice of our note, as he did not recognize our right of interference. This had probably excited the department to demand an immediate answer. I called at once on Develle, who was then Foreign Minister, and I told him the truth. I said that I was ordered to ask for an answer to my remonstrance against the conduct of France in Africa; that I knew perfectly well that the French Government considered we had no right to interfere, because we disclaimed a protectorate over Liberia, but I said if you do make this answer it can do no good, and will cause ill feeling between the two governments. I wish you, therefore, simply to say that it is not necessary to take up the international question, as that had been put one side by a treaty made between France and Liberia, in which the disputed territory was ceded to them, which treaty you had much pleasure in communicating officially to the State Department of the United States. He took down a note of what I said, promised to make an an-

swer in accordance with my views, and we parted on good terms. I took care to compliment his predecessor, M. Ribot, as having had the good sense not to answer immediately the demands of my Government. So this matter, which might have led to violent recriminations, and which had excited the susceptibilities of the French, who are sensitive in the highest degree, was ended with the kindest feelings on both sides.]

We called on Madame la Duchesse de Doudeauville Rochefoucauld, 47 Rue Vivienne. Here again we found one of those houses in the Faubourg which surprise you so much. Situated on a narrow street, you see nothing but a high stone wall, but you drive through the portecochère into a large paved yard up to the steps of the hotel, and after entering the drawing-room you are surprised to find a large garden full of flowers and trees, and, if I recollect rightly, a very fine cedar of Lebanon, with a lawn coming up to the parlour windows. You might have passed your whole life in Paris and gone through the Rue Vivienne every day without suspecting the existence of the garden. Madame de Rochefoucauld was a typical representative of the old French noblesse. Her manners had the peculiar charm of that nation, and, although she must have been a good deal over fifty, she was still handsome. Although knowing a good many Americans, I do not suppose she was intimate with any of them. Indeed, the French, with all their amiability, do not make friends with foreigners. They are wrapped up in their own homes, in their house-keeping and their children, and it is almost impossible to get beyond the mere forms of social intercourse.

July 14. On this date took place the great fête of the French nation, in commemoration of the taking of the Bastile. All the troops near Paris are reviewed by the President; the theatres

and circuses are open free to the public; fireworks and electrical displays are given, and dancing all night in the streets takes place. Mr. Sears and my daughter sat in Madame Carnot's tribune, and I occupied a seat with the President. About twenty thousand troops defiled before him. They walked well, and looked capable. The artillery came by at a trot, and the cavalry at full gallop. General Saussier had command as Governor of Paris. The appearance of the men pleased me. It was rather more serviceable than showy, but what struck me the most in the day was that, although two or three hundred thousand people had accumulated in the Bois de Boulogne and around the various suburbs of Paris, I did not see a single drunken man. I wish to God such a thing could be said of my own country.

July 19. I received an answer from M. Ribot, the Prime Minister, appointing Baron de Courcel as arbitrator in the Bering Sea controversy. I believe the appointment to be a very good one. He was an excellent ambassador to Germany, and speaks and understands English perfectly, and I am glad the selection fell on an ambassador rather than on a jurist. The decision of the case will probably rest with him, as the English and Americans will offset one another, and we fear the Italian will have a strong leaning towards England.

July 21. To-day I went over, with my daughter, to the Garde-Meuble. This is a collection of hangings and furniture, going as far back as the time of Henry IV. There is a vast quantity of it, and of great beauty, and the Government makes use of it when it wishes to decorate any palaces for temporary purposes. I was extremely interested in studying and trying to understand the different styles of Louis, XIV, XV, and XVI, and of the Empire. I think that the taste

gradually improved through Louis XIV, XV, and XVI, and that the furniture and ornaments became lighter and more delicate. With the Empire there came a complete change, and the transition, which was slow between the first three, is very sudden and marked in the last.

July 23. I was much pleased to-day at the appearance in Paris of Senator and Mrs. Hoar.

Sunday, July 24. I took Senator and Mrs. Hoar to hear the music at St. Sulpice, where there is a famous organist, and afterwards we went over the Luxembourg. Mr. Hoar is here on account of his health.

July 27. We were present at a fashionable wedding at the church of St. François Xavier; that of Marquis d'Harcourt with Mademoiselle Marie de la Rochefoucauld, daughter of the Duchesse de Doudeauville. The ex-Queen of Spain, Isabella, and the Duc de Chartres were present, and sat on elevated chairs. It was very handsome and crowded, but the custom, after the wedding ceremony is over, of passing through the sacristy to make your bow to the bride and her parents, is a most troublesome and useless practice. In this case the passage was narrow and the church crowded, and it took us an hour, I holding my hat on top of my cane, to crowd our way through, make our bow, and shake hands, if we happened to know any of the relations, and squeeze out of the church.

July 28. I got the Prime Minister and Madame Ribot, the Phippses, and Jusserand to come and dine to meet Senator and Mrs. Hoar. At this season of the year the sun sets so very late that we dined at eight o'clock by daylight. The heat was intense, and we had a most vivid display of lightning, which did not, however, come near us, but did much damage in the direction of Orléans.

August 1. I am taking French lessons with my daughter, but the more I try to converse in French, and to study the language, the more difficult it becomes. A few months suffice to learn to understand and to speak French, but to do it well is so difficult that I think I have never known more than one or two foreigners succeed. The turning of the sentences and the nuances of meaning of various words and expressions are infinite. The mere ending of a letter is a work of art. My secretary, M. Vignaud, knew exactly how to end a diplomatic letter, but had no idea of the proper expressions in a social line. I recollect, when I received a line from Madame Carnot offering me a box at the theatre, I applied to half a dozen authorities to know how I should sign myself, but not one of them could tell me. In writing to me, the words "haute considération" were generally put in; as, for example, accepting a dinner: "Je vous prie d'agréer avec mes remercîments l'expression de mes sentiments de très haute considération." In writing to a friend, to an acquaintance, to a superior, to an equal, to an inferior, the terminations are entirely different. From an equal, "Veuillez agréer, je vous prie, mon cher ministre, l'assurance de mes sentiments tout devoués," etc.

August 5. We embarked on a little river steamer, the "Tourist," to make a trip to St. Germain. The party consisted of Count Arco, Baron de Süsskind, Mr. Curtis, Abbott Lawrence, two Miss Shattucks, and others. We were some hours going down, and found the river towards the end so low and so thick and offensive that I do not wonder at the existence of cholera. The town is altogether too large for the stream, which it pollutes. We were shown acres of land on which the refuse of the city was poured, in an attempt to make it useful for agriculture. I doubt if much success attended the experi-

ment. We passed the day on that beautiful *terrasse* of St. Germain overlooking Paris and the adjoining country, and came back by the train.

August 10. I saw the Foreign Minister, M. Ribot, about choosing a place for the bimetallic conference. I think our Government would have preferred Paris, but the soreness which still existed, caused by the conduct of my attaché, Borup, made the French Government object to Paris being used, and finally Brussels was selected. I took Mrs. Foster, the wife of the Secretary of State, and her daughter, and Miss Rusk, the daughter of the Secretary of Agriculture, to the French Opéra to see "Salâmmbo." Mr. Depew and some friends were also there. The music was fine, but the spectacle was the most magnificent I have seen on any stage in Europe. I was very much pleased at the simplicity of the manners of the ladies.

August 12. I took the train to Enghien; thence I drove to the Château de Montmorency, where the Talleyrands live. The château looked very spick and span. It was a new red and white brick building, with a very handsome iron railing. The French almost always surround their country houses with these railings, which are often ten feet high, and always gilded, and they add a great deal to the appearance of the park. This place contains about thirty acres, the gardens being about two. The stable is behind. It is small, but finished to the last degree. The hall contains a collection of arms, which Ressman, the Italian ambassador, whom I met there, estimated to be worth a million francs. He pointed out to me some basinets, if that is the right word, which he said could no longer be obtained. The Marie Antoinette room upstairs was most graceful, and I have never seen more lovely Louis

XVI furniture. It is supposed to have been used by the Queen herself, and I believe there is no doubt that the bed was really slept in by Marie Antoinette. The bath-room was covered all over with tiles imported from Granada, and showed all the beauty that taste and money combined can produce. The château overlooks Paris and the adjoining country. The hangings in the house were brought from the house on Fifth Avenue which Madame de Talleyrand sold to the Whitneys. All together, although everything was in good taste, the whole thing looked a little finical. Madame de Talleyrand appears to be a simple, nice woman, and how she ever ran away from a respectable husband to marry Talleyrand, I cannot conceive.

August 13. My daughter and I left for Penthuis, the country place of my friend Edward Lee Childe. We reached Montargis at half-past three, where Childe met us, and drove us some six miles to his place. The place appears to be very large. The château is a handsome French one, very long, and only one room thick. It would be impossible to keep such a house warm in winter and cool in summer in America, but the climate here is so mild that wood fires and a small furnace suffice, although the French windows, very long, reaching down to the floor, never shut well. I know no climate which, for the whole year round, seems to me as comfortable as that of the middle of France.

August 14. We strolled over Mr. Childe's place, which consisted of about sixteen hundred acres, divided into many farms. The largest rents for four thousand francs, but some small houses and gardens rent as low as one hundred francs. He is obliged to keep four guards to protect his game from poachers, but the hares and rabbits and quail are caught

every night in traps. Tramps abound. Mr. Childe tells me that in the beginning he gave every one of them two sous, but that he found that such munificence attracted great numbers of others, and he was obliged to reduce the price to one sol. This his butler gives to every man, woman, or child who applies. I suppose it is partly out of charity, but partly to prevent the setting of fires to the ricks and damage to outbuildings. The soil is very poor, very little manure being used. The crop this year is small, on account of the drought. The farming utensils, such as I saw used, were, I think, the same as those employed a hundred years ago. No mowing machines or reapers were used, but everything was done by hand, wages being from two francs to two and one-half francs per day. The cattle are a small red and white breed, and very poor. I went with my friend to the village to see the children of the peasants examined, and receive prizes, which were distributed by some of the Sisters of Charity, who had charge of the school. The French Government has driven these worthy teachers out of almost all the schools in France, but this little one appears to have been overlooked. I found that the children were used in the fields when eight years of age. Some of them were dressed by the Commune. They sang and recited very well, and looked clean and happy. We all sat in the open air on a lovely day, amongst the fathers and mothers. They are a very hard working set, and, although not poor, penurious in the extreme. They eat meat not more often than once a week, and put by every sol to invest in the next piece of land, or in a new government loan. As the property is divided by lot amongst all the children at the death of the parents, each piece has become so small as to support with great difficulty the peasant who cultivates it, and it is undoubtedly for this

reason that the modes of cultivation are so backward. They are still religious, and the anarchistic and socialistic ideas, which render the lower classes in the large towns so dangerous, penetrate but very little into the country, where every peasant is, or expects to be, the owner of a little piece of ground. I do not think a landed proprietor like my friend, who lives in Paris half the year, can get any income from his estate, but he finds health, quiet, and objects of interest and benevolence.

August 15. We were again in Paris on this day, where we found a great fête in the Tuileries to collect money for the Russian peasants, who are starving from the loss of their crops. The French appear to take every opportunity to show their affection for Russia. I suppose this feeling will continue as long as Germany, Austria, and Italy try to protect themselves by what is called the Triple Alliance, which is, of course, a perpetual threat to France. The cholera has broken out in St. Petersburg.

August 17. I was amused to find that the hackney coaches in Paris had struck. In America this would have been accompanied by disorder, drunkenness and violence, assaults on people and destruction of property, such as we have seen in all large strikes, as in Brooklyn, Chicago, and other cities. But here, although it was impossible to get a carriage for love or money, the police kept everything quiet.

August 26. I received a note from the director of the Grand Opéra, offering me a box in the first gallery, but *sur la scène*, that is, behind the curtain. I have tried in vain to get a box, because they are all taken on the fashionable night, which is Monday, and kept by the same families for years, so that they can only be let when death or mourning throws one of

the possessors out of society. This box was a very large and comfortable one, with eight seats, and a salon behind. It was admirably suited for hearing, and, although you lost the view of the house during *entr'actes*, this was made up by the appearance of the stage while it was undergoing its changes from one act to another. I hired the box with pleasure, and then went over the theatre with one of the directors, and amongst others, into the beautiful *salon de danse*, a superb room behind the stage, with a large mirror at one end, where all ballet dancers assemble to practise before going on the stage. One of the best, a Miss Hirsch, was taking a lesson when we went in. Her teacher was seated on a sofa with her back against the looking-glass, so that Miss Hirsch could see herself, and every movement, in the glass. The teacher was expostulating, praising, and blaming, while the dancer was going through her various parts. We bowed, took our hats off, and asked permission to remain, and we were so near that her foot would sometimes almost touch our heads. Ballet dancers are said, almost invariably, to grow rich, and to keep all the money which their adorers pour upon them, while the actresses die poor. I suppose this is partly owing to the excessive physical labour which the first ones have to undergo to fit them for their work, so that all passion is driven out of them. I do not think, however, that as a class they appear to advantage near to. The muscles of the feet and the legs are so excessively developed as to spoil all symmetry, and the standing on the toe almost deforms that part of the foot.

August 27. Mrs. Coolidge, my son-in-law, and daughter left for Geneva. I was rather glad to have them do so, because the cholera is gradually advancing from St. Petersburg. It is very bad at Hamburg, has broken out in Antwerp and Havre,

and I am afraid we shall have a severe attack of it in Paris before the frost sets in. I think, therefore, that my family will be better off in Switzerland, as later a quarantine might be established. A very curious epidemic of scarlet fever is raging in London, thirty-five hundred cases of the disease being reported as in the hospitals at one time. The same day I took a train for Blois, where I met the Shattucks. We put up at a filthy tavern, called the Grand Hotel, the drainage of which was so offensive as to permeate my bedroom. Notwithstanding that the whole house was vile, the food was excellent.

August 28. We all went to the castle of Blois, which is of historical interest, and thence drove to Chambord. We here found a dismal pile in a plain flat country, a double spiral staircase being the only thing of interest in the château, which belongs now to the Prince of Parme, a nephew of the late Chambord, called by the Legitimists Henry V. I suppose he cannot afford to keep the place in repair. On our way home we stopped at an exquisite French country house, called Cheverny, owned by the Marquis de Vibraye. There were some beautiful old rooms, Catherine de' Medici, as usual, figuring in some of them. But the real charm of the place was the lovely grounds, and the large rooms opening on to the lawns. We drove the family out of one of these, and found their work on the table, and books just as they had left them. How they can submit to such persecution, I cannot understand.

August 29. We took the train to Chaumont, the most charming castle we have yet seen. It resembled Archy Rogers's place on the Hudson. The river and the grounds are finer in America, but the château here is more picturesque. We were shown many old-fashioned halls hung with ancient tapestries,

and enjoyed ourselves very much. After a good lunch at a little inn in the village, the ladies returned to the *gare*, four in a donkey-cart, and we on foot.

August 31. The cholera has become frightful at Hamburg. Four hundred bodies unburied. Deaths, one hundred and sixty to two hundred and fifty per day. The "Normannia," from Hamburg to New York, lost twenty-two on the passage.

September 3. A bearer of despatches arrived from the United States, with the cases to be submitted in the Bering Sea controversy. Lord Dufferin and I delivered them to Baron de Courcel, and also handed in a joint note requesting secrecy of contents. I was much struck by the deference and admiration which Courcel had for Lord Dufferin. As they had both been engaged in diplomacy their whole lives, they knew each other well. It is useless for us to attempt to stand on even terms in foreign countries, when we send out every four years new men, who know nothing of the diplomatic relations of the countries, and who meet with men whose whole training has been on that one subject. We suffer even more by appointing consuls, merely as a reward for political work, so that every few years a new man makes his appearance, who has hardly learned his business when he is turned out for another; whereas, the English, the French, and particularly the German consuls are men thoroughly trained, of long experience, and who understand the business relations of their country.

September 6. We took the Count de Madre's coach for Fontainebleau. The weather was delightful. The party consisted of the Shattucks and the Millers, and on our way we took up Mrs. B., who was driving a four-in-hand in the Champs-Élysées. The drive is a beautiful one, going out by the Bois de

Boulogne, and driving round the southern part of the capital. Fontainebleau is too well known for me to describe it. We slept at the Aigle-Noir. Brooks Adams and his wife turned up, and accompanied us on our visit to the forest. We breakfasted *al fresco* at Franchard's. Home by an afternoon train, after a very pleasant two days.

September 9. The cholera is increasing slowly, and we have in Paris about fifty deaths a day. In America the quarantine is excessively severe, all emigrants being subjected to a quarantine of twenty days. As no vessels can afford to lose this time, it amounts to the stopping of all emigration. I had some conversation with Mr. and Mrs. W. Post. They were very desirous of sailing in "La Touraine," but were afraid that they would be detained in New York harbour. I showed them a despatch from Hendricks, collector of New York, and rather advised their going; but the state of affairs in New York is most disagreeable, and nobody knows how long he may be detained in the harbour, or even put ashore and kept in some wretched quarantine station. I think I shall go down to Cherbourg and look personally into the condition of "La Touraine," so that I can telegraph to the health officer in New York, begging him not to detain the vessel, which contains some five or six hundred American passengers. There is some fear that the company will put emigrants on board under the guise of second-class passengers, but this would be too foolish.

September 15. I went to dine at the Mexican minister's, in honour of the founding of the Republic and the birthday of President Porfirio Diaz. I sat opposite to the minister, Mr. Fernandez, between the ministers of Chili and Bolivia. There was not a single ambassador at the table. Mr. Fernandez made a few remarks in honour of his President, and after din-

ner we had the usual musical performance and declamations by actresses of the Théâtre Français. I met a Dr. Charles Fauvel. This man is a throat specialist, and has most of the actresses and singers as his clients. He offered to procure me any singers I wanted for my receptions.

Friday, September 16. I left for Cherbourg. I breakfasted on board "La Touraine"; saw the director of the company, the Mayor of Cherbourg, and the admiral of the port, and impressed upon them the great importance of securing the necessary certificates of the sanitary condition of the vessel. I went all over the ship from top to bottom, and found it in admirable order, so that I telegraphed to the health officer in New York, asking him to pass the vessel, as he could do so with safety. I think she was only detained half a day. I was much amused at the way the second-class passengers were received. They were put in a pen, and passed out one by one. Two surgeons and I think an American vice-consul were present. Every man had to open his mouth and submit to a medical examination. If found sound, he was sprayed all over with some carbolic solution, and his baggage had to go through the same treatment. Only two or three were turned back. I do not see how the germs of cholera could have been discovered, if the passenger had them, but I suppose this rigid examination was meant to have a moral effect on the New York health office.

Friday, September 23. I went over the St. Gotthard to Milan. The scenery on the Swiss side is superb. The engineering work of the road is very curious, the road making two complete circles under ground, in order to descend the mountains.

Saturday, September 24. At Milan I went to see "The Last Supper" by Leonardo da Vinci. This picture I have looked

at various times. It is rather a curiosity than a work of art, as I think that only a hand or two of the original painting still exists. On my arrival at Venice the Gardners met me at the station, and took me in a gondola to the Palazzo Barbaro, where they had lovely gondolier singing.

Sunday, September 25. We went to the Lido, and had, amongst others, Count and Countess Fabricotti in our company. Countess Fabricotti is either English or Irish, and is certainly one of the most beautiful women that I have ever had the pleasure of seeing. She married an Italian, who, I believe, lives near Florence.

October 1. I went over Venice, which is as romantic as ever, but is in the depths of poverty. With the exception of the manufacture of antiques, there is almost no occupation for the people, and the old palaces standing on the canals are tumbling down for want of repairs, or are hired for a few months of the year by strangers. I went to see the best pictures, and purchased a well-head and some jewelry. These well-heads appear to have occupied the centre of the court-yard of almost every house, and many of them are very handsomely carved. The jewelry consisted of a set of emeralds said to be between five and six hundred years old. The stones were large, but more imperfect than any I have ever seen. Their antiquity gave them all the value they had. Mrs. G. held a little court in the Palazzo Barbaro, which she had hired of my friend Dan Curtis. She was surrounded by musicians and artists, some of them of distinction. After a most enjoyable week I left on the first of October for Paris, and found myself, in twenty-four hours, removed from a clear and very hot climate to rain and cold.

October 7. I went, by invitation of the Government, with An-

drew D. White, our minister to St. Petersburg, to the funeral of Ernest Renan at the College of France. The display was very fine. The buildings were hung with black and white, green lights burning out of high chandeliers, and an immense catafalque in the middle of the court on which reposed the remains of the great man. Most of the people who took part in the ceremonies wore the green embroidered dress of the Institute of France. Excellent speeches were made by Bourgeois, Minister of Public Instruction and of Fine Arts; Gaston Boissier, Alexandre Bertrand, Paris, and Barbier. All the members of the Government were present, and the streets were lined with police and troops. The ministers followed the hearse on foot, as did deputations from every important body in Paris, and infantry and cavalry. I regretted to see that the diplomatic body was poorly represented. Not an ambassador was present, and only some South American ministers. I understood afterwards that the well-known free thinking of Renan, and the attacks made by him in his various books on the Christian religion, had been the cause why the Nuncio and the ambassadors of Catholic countries had not seen fit to honour his funeral with their attendance.

October 8. I attended another funeral at La Madeleine. This was that of Count Sartiges, formerly ambassador at Rome, and who had married a lady from Boston. We went through the usual ceremony of sprinkling the coffin with holy water, which is handed to you by an attendant, and then shook hands with the son and son-in-law of the deceased.

October 12. I received from the French Government a letter requesting me to give Mr. Harrisse, the historian of Columbus, the medal of an officer of the Legion of Honour, which was enclosed. This does great credit to the Government, for,

with the advent of the Chicago Exposition, everybody is collecting literature and pictures relating to the discovery of America, and Harrisse has been for many years the most voluminous and perhaps the most learned writer on that subject; but he has given offence both in Spain and Italy, and no honour has fallen to his share. I wrote him a letter, and he called in the afternoon at the Legation to receive the medal, and to thank me. He was a middle-aged man, born in the United States, but having lived most of his time in France, and having written many of his works in the French language. To-day France made her appointments to the bimetallic congress to be held at Brussels.

October 14. I went with the Jays to see M. Ephrussi's house. This is an apartment occupied by the two brothers, who are bachelors, and is fitted up in the richest and most careful manner. The dining-room and the principal bedroom have nothing in them that is not Empire, from the paper on the wall to the brushes on the table.

October 15. I went with Truxtun Beale and some others to the Opéra Comique to hear Sibyl Sanderson sing in "Manon." By her invitation we went into her private room where she was painting and dressing for the stage. She was to reach in the next act an excessively high note, and Massenet, the composer, was so anxious to have her succeed that he took her away from us into a room with a piano, and made her practise the song before her entry on the stage. Her schooling is said to be most admirable, and her voice much admired by the French.

Sunday, October 22. I went with Fred to call on Gérôme, the celebrated painter, to talk about the meeting of the Jury de Contrôle on the Paris Prizes. A Mr. Chanler of New York

has raised money, both in Boston and New York, to send to Paris lads of promise who wish to study painting. They remain here several years, and receive, I believe, nine hundred dollars a year for their support. The only condition is that their work shall be submitted annually to this jury, which consists of five or six of the most distinguished painters living. If these gentlemen think well of their talent and the progress they are making, they remain another year, at the end of which they pass a similar examination. M. Gérôme was the president, and I got him to appoint a day when he could meet the other gentlemen, and examine the work of two students, one having been sent from Boston and one from New York. He has lately gone into sculpture, and has a very striking study at the Luxembourg, which he has endeavoured to colour, as Gibson used to do in Rome, in imitation of the Greeks.

October 25. We received the news of the death of Mrs. Harrison, who died of consumption early this morning. We countermanded a dinner of twenty-two for next Thursday, and gave up all our engagements for the present.

October 26. I inserted in the "Herald" and "Galignani" a call to the Americans in Paris to meet at the Legation to pass resolutions on Mrs. Harrison's death, and sent a telegram to the President expressing my heartfelt sympathy at his great bereavement.

October 28. The day of the burial of Mrs. Harrison. We had a meeting of some three hundred at the Legation, and passed resolutions, which I sent to Washington.

November 2. The French are carrying on a war in Dahomey, and are meeting with great difficulties, principally from the absence of roads and the extreme unhealthiness of the

climate. The general in command is, I believe, a Creole, born in Africa, named Dodds.

November 4. I called to pay my respects on the President at the Elysée, and had a pleasant visit, during which I gave him a new book just published by Edward Lowell of Boston, called "The Eve of the French Revolution." This book shows great research, and, I think, a high degree of talent. The unfortunate death of the author, which occurred a year or two afterwards, has deprived us of a most distinguished writer.

November 8. Election in the United States, in which Mr. Cleveland was overwhelmingly chosen. I look upon this partly as a protest against protectionism, which has been represented to the masses, I think falsely, as an injury to their welfare. But, at the bottom of all, I believe there is a desire, on the part of a great many people at the South and West, for depreciated silver and paper. In order to carry the State of New York they were obliged to nominate Mr. Cleveland, who is a hard-money man, but I think almost his whole party is not in sympathy with his views.

We had an interesting meeting at 19 Rue Vavin to celebrate the anniversary of the opening of the Association Rooms for young girl students from America in Paris. There are a great many of them without friends or money, and this was to give them a place where they could meet together, read, become acquainted with one another, and find a home. The rooms were filled with these girls, and many members of the American colony were present. I made a short address, in which I warned them not to be carried away by their enthusiasm, but to eat regularly and take the proper number of hours of sleep and exercise.

November 9. I saw M. Ribot, and had some conversation with him about the Extradition Treaty. This treaty, which was signed by my predecessor, had had certain changes made on this side. He seemed to think that the French would agree to the suggestions of the Secretary of State. We had also a conversation about the Reciprocity Treaty. This was a treaty in which duties on certain articles were diminished, and it had been so made that about the same amount of money would be taken off of French imports as off American imports, so that each nation should benefit alike. It had been signed by both parties, but before becoming a law had to pass the French House. Now, by an accident in figuring, the exports from France which benefited by the diminished duty in America were not equal to the exports from America to France, and the French claimed that in common equity this should be changed. The Americans, however, claimed that as the treaty had been signed, it should pass as it was. I pointed out to him that, although the French suffered by their mistake, they had been benefited by the fact that sugar had been let in from the colonies of Guadeloupe and Martinique free from the time of the treaty, and that we had, as yet, received no advantage, because the French House had not passed the bill, and I hoped he would bring it up as soon as possible.

There has been an explosion to-day of a dynamite bomb. This infernal machine had been placed in the entry of an office of the Carmaux mines, where a strike was going on. The police had removed it to their station, where it exploded, killing six or seven people. M. Ribot, I think, looked upon it rather as the act of a scoundrel connected with the strikers, than as a proof of any anarchism.

I went with the Jays and Nora to hear Yvette Guilbert, a

celebrated singer and a *canaille* of the worst description. There was also there a lightning calculator, who must possess phenomenal development of the brain. He divided eighteen figures, subtracted eighteen figures, multiplied six figures by four, took two cube roots, one third root, and one fourth root of about twelve figures all at once, in about seven minutes, and then wrote them down on two blackboards.

Monday, November 14. After our usual reception, we went with the Jays to see a Miss Abbott perform a most extraordinary trick. She stood quietly on the stage, and could not be lifted or moved by from one to four men, who were called up from the spectators. Afterwards she raised, without any apparent strain, a cane held down by four men and having a large man on top. The trick is entirely incomprehensible to me.

November 15. The French Government have at last decided to prosecute the Panama directors, which will produce a great scandal, many deputies and newspaper men being concerned. It is expected that the Prime Minister, Loubet, will go out to-morrow on an interpellation on the laws of the press, and that a new Cabinet will be formed.

At half-past three Mrs. Sears and myself were received in private audience by Isabella, the ex-Queen of Spain. We were taken by the lady-in-waiting through one or two rooms, and then told to go through another one, which we did, and found Her Majesty seated in the middle of a large reception room. She received us alone, placing Mrs. Sears at her side, and beckoning me to sit down on a chair. At first, as we had been told not to speak, but only to answer the remarks made, things went very hard, but after a little time it was easier to talk, and we found the old lady outspoken and clever, with a

good deal of Yankee wit. I only recollect one of her remarks, which was, that there were but two kinds of governments in the world; one was a government by a single person, and the other by the people, but she had attempted the first and lost her kingdom in so doing. In going and coming I bowed, and Mrs. Sears courtesied three times; once at the door and once half-way out. The old Queen, although immensely stout, stood up until we made the last courtesy at the door in going out.

November 16. M. Boissier (Marie Louis Anton Gaston) of the Académie des Belles Lettres, has been named to succeed M. Renan as Administrator of the College of France.

I had at lunch to-day Gérôme, Carolus Duran, Benjamin Constant, and Puvis de Chavannes. General O. O. Howard, with his aid, Lieutenant Treat, were also there, and M. Ephrussi. These painters formed what was called the Jury de Contrôle, and we had an exceedingly interesting conversation. Howard could speak but little French, and they no English. They asked him if he had commanded, as general, ten or fifteen thousand men, when he modestly confessed to one hundred thousand, which excited the admiration of the Frenchmen. After the breakfast, the four artists, in the best of humour, examined and approved the work of John Briggs Potter and H. Bryson Burroughs, who held the Paris scholarships from Boston and New York. Constant was particularly flattering, and I think the young men must have been greatly pleased at the outcome. I got the gentlemen to sign a paper, expressing their approval, and sent it to the committees in the United States.

In the afternoon I went to the Chamber, where there was a violent discussion about the law of the press. De Mun and

Deschanel were eloquent, but the only speech to the point, and an admirable one it was, came from a lawyer, Clausel de Coussergues. There were some violent socialistic wranglings on the part of the deputies from the Left. The German, the Spanish, and the Austrian ambassadors were in the tribune with me, and many of the secretaries. It was generally supposed that the Ministry would fall the next day.

November 17. Hollmann, a violoncellist, enjoying a European reputation, played for us in the afternoon. He was going to the United States, where, I think, he met with deserved success. I dined at the Jays' with Ouvré and Charles de Montsaulnin. He is a Deputy of the House, and says he shall vote against the inquest on the Panama affair, as the revelation would be a disgrace to France. Eiffel and Seligman, who are said to have made twenty to thirty millions of francs, and De Lesseps, are badly implicated.

November 18. I went in full dress at three o'clock, with the secretaries and attachés, to make a formal call on the Italian ambassador, Ressman. All the diplomatic corps were there, covered with stars, and orders, and ribbons, the Americans alone being in plain black. I recollect the Persian minister as peculiarly gorgeous in green and gold.

November 19. The Government gained an unexpected victory. We called on Madame Ribot to congratulate her.

Sunday, November 20. We called on the Dufferins to congratulate Lord Terence on his engagement to one of our compatriots, a Miss Davis.

November 23. J. G. Brooks, a political economist, who has been in Germany studying socialism, came to see me to get an introduction to the celebrated Léon Say. He says that the principle of insuring all workmen against illness and old age,

is in full trial by the Government in Germany, but that, strange as it may appear, it does not diminish almshouse relief.

November 25. The committee to investigate the Panama scandal sat to-day to hear suggestions. The bimetallic conference met also in Brussels, but none of the delegates, except the Americans, would consent to vote on any proposition.

November 26. The French Steamboat Company, at Havre, has made many complaints and grave charges against the American consul, a man by the name of Williams. They accuse him of making extra charges, which they have to pay, because, Havre being a tidal port, the vessels have to leave at a fixed hour, and if the consul delays going on board, they cannot get away. This is the second or third time that something of the kind has come up, and I decided to refer it to the Secretary of the Treasury.

Sunday, November 27. Brooks and myself called on Léon Say, 21 Rue Fresnel. He is a sugar refiner, and has accumulated wealth. He is looked upon, by one side of the political economists of France, as their leader. We had an interesting talk on the socialistic laws in Germany and in France. There have been many propositions made in the latter country, but they have not yet been carried out, and the whole thing is in a state of suspense. Thus, it is a curious fact, that Germany, with almost a despotic Emperor, is much farther advanced in socialism than the Republic of France. The plan suggested here is to levy from one to two cents a day on the workmen, the employer paying the same out of the wages, if he can collect it, but being responsible for it, and the State adding two-thirds. After thirty years of payments, from the age, say of twenty-five to fifty-five, the workmen would become entitled to a

yearly pension for life, varying from three hundred to six hundred francs. Some such scheme will inevitably be adopted.

November 28. The French Government fell on an attack made by M. Brisson, the head of the Enquête sur le Panama. He demanded why the body of Reinach had not been exhumed and examined for traces of poison, and why his papers had not been sealed. Minister Ricard said he could not legally do so. The Prime Minister, Loubet, took the ground that he could not govern without the confidence of the House, and he demanded to "passer au jour," without any comment. On this question the Government was defeated by three hundred and four against two hundred and nineteen. The Marquis de la Ferronnays led the attack, and Brisson, who expects to succeed Loubet, proposed the final vote, which was adopted, "and the Chamber, in sympathy with the Committee, passes to the order of the day." Ferronnays is the son of a very old and witty marchioness, who is distinguished for her Legitimist sympathies, and belongs to the *haute noblesse* of the Faubourg.

November 30. I called on M. Ribot to express my regret and to pay my respects after the fall of the Ministry. I delivered a note from the Secretary of State, thanking M. Carnot for his telegram of sympathy on the death of Mrs. Harrison. M. Ribot says that Brisson has not yet succeeded in forming a new Ministry.

December 2. Brisson having failed to make a Cabinet, Casimir-Périer has been asked to do so. This also proved futile, and Ribot was called upon to form a new Cabinet, which he did by including the old members, except Roche and Ricard. Siegfried takes the portfolio of Commerce and Charles Dupuy l'Instruction Publique et Cultes.

December 6. Ground covered with snow, which is rather unusual in Paris.

December 8. Received official notice of the appointment of Ribot as Prime Minister. He takes the Department of the Interior. I went to a very amusing piece at the Nouveauté Théâtre, "Champignon malgré Lui." The scene turns on the fact that the unhappy man is entered in his regiment under a wrong name, and, although the right man appears, he never can get out of the difficulty.

December 9. I went to the Foreign Office to call on the new Prime Minister, and met there most of the ambassadors and ministers of foreign countries.

December 12. There is great trouble about the Panama scandal. It appears that Clémenceau, the notorious radical and editor of a paper called "La Justice," Baron Reinach (whose body had been dug up, and whose autopsy proved poison by atropine, notwithstanding the denials of the Cabinet), and C. Herz, a German Jew speculator, who has fled to England, were all together the last afternoon of Reinach's life.

December 13. Minister Loubet was obliged, under these charges, to resign, amidst intense excitement. I went this morning to the studio of an American artist named Partridge, to look at a colossal statue of Shakespeare, which he has just finished for the city of Chicago.

December 14. At the Opéra Comique to see the first performance of the celebrated prima donna, Calvé, in "Carmen." Her voice is extraordinarily beautiful, and she met with a very great and deserved success.

December 15. There was another great struggle in the House, in which Ribot distinguished himself, but the Cabinet was only saved by six votes on the Panama question. Eight votes

were cast by the ministers themselves, so that, had they abstained from voting, they would have been in a minority. The same evening I went with Nora and Ellen, and the Rodgerses to a grand reception at the Élysée. It was very handsome, and we were received with great cordiality by the President and Madame Carnot, and introduced to the wives of various ministers, who sat around her — Madame Loubet, Madame Siegfried, Madame Burdeau, and Madame Borius. Lady Dufferin sat on the left, and Madame Ribot on the right of the hostess.

December 16. I called on Matte, the Chilian minister, to get permission for our naval attaché, Rodgers, to be present at the trial of "The General Pratt," an armed Chilian cruiser, which is being fitted out at Toulon. This was a matter of great interest, because we were having very serious difficulties with the Chilian Government, and, at one time, a war between the two Governments appeared imminent. It was contended by many that we had no vessel competent to meet "The General Pratt," and that she could have bombarded New York even, if she could carry enough coal to get there. The Chilian Government, after putting us off, refused positively to allow our attaché to be present at the trial.

December 17. We went to Mrs. Austin Lee's, who is the wife of the principal secretary of the English Legation, to hear her sing, and also to hear Sibyl Sanderson. Many people came in from a reception at the English Embassy, given to the Duke of Leuchtenberg.

December 20. Tremendous row and arrest of many leading citizens on the charge of bribery by the Panama Canal Company. The only two of the accused that I knew personally were Rouvier and Roche. I think the country is in such a

state of disturbance, that a bold and able man, belonging either to the Orleans dynasty, or that of Napoleon, could attempt, with some degree of success, to overthrow the Republic. At any rate he could bring on bloodshed and civil war. The majority of the French are strong Republicans, but they are horrified and disgusted at the venality of the men who have governed them, and at the weakness of the authorities. The Frenchmen require a strong hand. Of all the leading men, Carnot alone seems to be spotless; no one having dared, as yet, to assail him.

December 23. M. Floquet, the Speaker of the House, and one of the most probable aspirants to the presidency after Carnot, confessed to having taken six hundred and fifty thousand francs from the Panama treasury, for the purpose, as he says, of subsidizing the Republican papers.

December 24. *Christmas Eve.* We went to Notre Dame, which we found closed, but we heard midnight mass at St. Eustache.

December 26. Madame Carnot, accompanied by one of her ladies, Madame Borius, called at our reception. This, I believe, is not generally done by the wife of the President, except on the ambassadors, but the importance of the United States makes itself felt, even in social etiquette.

December 27. I went to a reception given by the Government to Pasteur. "The ceremony organized in honour of M. Pasteur's seventieth birthday took place at the New Sorbonne yesterday morning. A large crowd had gathered in the Boulevard St. Michel and the Rue des Écoles, and the roads were kept clear by police and mounted Republican guards. After conversing with him for a few minutes, the President offered his arm to the illustrious savant, and con-

ducted him into the large amphitheatre. Their entrance was the signal for an outburst of enthusiastic applause. M. Pasteur wore evening dress, relieved by the scarf of Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. M. Carnot took the Presidential chair, having on his right M. d'Abbadie, President of the Académie des Sciences; M. Le Royer, President of the Senate; M. Ribot, Prime Minister; and the diplomatic corps in full uniform; and on his left, M. Joseph Bertrand, permanent Secretary of the Académie des Sciences; M. Floquet, President of the Chamber; M. Dupuy, Minister of Education; and all the other members of the Cabinet. M. Dupuy opened the proceedings in an eloquent and patriotic oration. M. d'Abbadie, President of the Académie des Sciences, then congratulated M. Pasteur on behalf of the Institut, and handed him the large gold medal subscribed for in every country. The medal bears on one side a portrait of the savant, and on the other the following inscription: 'À Pasteur, le jour de ses soixante-dix ans, la science et l'humanité reconnaissantes. — 27 Décembre, 1892.' Sir Joseph Lister presented M. Pasteur with an address from the Royal Society. Sir Joseph said there was no one in the whole world to whom the medical sciences owed more than M. Pasteur. Thanks to him a complete revolution had been effected in surgery. It had been deprived of its terrors, and its efficacious power had been enlarged almost without limit. He had raised the veil by which infectious diseases had for centuries been covered. Their microbian nature had been discovered and demonstrated, thanks to his initiative and in many cases to his own particular labours, and the causes of a large number of pernicious disorders were now known. 'Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.' This knowledge had already perfected in a surprising manner the

diagnosis of those plagues of the human race and indicated the prophylactic and curative treatment to be followed. In this direction his splendid discoveries of the attenuation and strengthening of virus and preventive inoculation served, and would always serve as a guiding star. As an illustration, he would point to M. Pasteur's labours upon hydrophobia. Their originality had been so striking that, with the exception of a few ignorant persons, everybody now recognized the immense importance of what he had achieved against that terrible malady. He had furnished a diagnosis which would certainly dissipate the anguish of uncertainty which formerly haunted a person who was bitten by a perfectly healthy dog suspected to be suffering from rabies. That alone would have sufficed to ensure him the eternal gratitude of mankind. But by his marvellous system of anti-rabic inoculations he had succeeded in treating and counteracting the poison after it had entered the system. 'M. Pasteur,' said Sir Joseph in conclusion, 'infectious diseases, as you are aware, constitute the great majority of the maladies which afflict the human race. You can therefore understand the eagerness with which on this grand occasion medicine and surgery offer you their profound homage of admiration and gratitude.' After other congratulations had been received, M. Pasteur rose to return thanks. He remarked that at that proud moment his thoughts turned sadly towards those many scientific men who had encountered nothing but rebuffs, who in the past had struggled against and overcome prejudices only to encounter obstacles and difficulties of all kinds. The delegates from various nations who had come so far to show their sympathy for France, had filled him with the greatest joy that could be experienced by a man who entertained the unshakable belief that science

and peace would eventually triumph over ignorance and war, and that the future belonged to those who had done the most for suffering humanity."

I dined to-day with the Meredith Howlands, and I have never seen finer pearls than those of the Duchesse de Gramont and of Mrs. von Hoffmann. The latter is very clever. Duc de Gramont tells me that he owns a place called Morfontaine, where Franklin signed the first treaty with France, and where Napoleon I met Lafayette. It was formerly owned by Joseph II.

One of my men servants was found dead in his bed on the twenty-sixth. This was probably caused by apoplexy, but there were some suspicions that he might have died from coal gas. There was much red tape. We sent for the Commissaire de Police, and he sent a doctor. Then we had to make application, and get a certificate from the Mayor, who sent another doctor. They could not agree. Hence, new applications to the police. In the meantime the body was not allowed to be touched, and these things kept Bissell, the clerk of the Legation, running backwards and forwards all day. The body lay in the room, and was not taken away until the twenty-eighth. This was a great inconvenience, and disagreeable, as everybody passing in and out of the house had to go by the door, but it shows the great care with which the police regulations are kept in France.

December 28. At an afternoon tea to meet the Infanta Eulalie, a daughter of ex-Queen Isabella, and married to her cousin, De Montpensier. You probably know that Louis Philippe married his son, Montpensier, to the sister of Queen Isabella on the same day on which the Queen was married. It was undoubtedly expected that Her Majesty would have no chil-

dren, and that the crown of France would descend to the grandchildren of Louis Philippe. Unfortunately for him, the Queen, contrary to all expectation, was blessed with a numerous family, of which Eulalie was one. She is the princess who excited so favourable comment in America at the Chicago Exhibition. I was introduced, but merely kissed hands.

December 29. There is splendid skating in the Bois de Boulogne, but I have not had time to go there, as I have had many despatches. Secretary Vignaud and I called on one of the chief directors of the Foreign Department, to see if we could not get the Extradition Treaty carried through more rapidly, but we found a great deal of red tape in the way. In the meantime, the Government has slipped the Reciprocity Treaty quietly through the House. I think they did not want the matter discussed, because there had been, as I mentioned before, a serious error, amounting, I think, to at least a million of francs, in the figures that had been made by their subordinates.

December 31. An American citizen, Mr. J. E. Schermerhorn, came to see me in great trouble, because a maid servant of his, whom he esteemed highly, had been arrested for stealing at a large shop, called Louvre. I could do nothing for him, except to advise him to apply to the Louvre to withdraw their charge, but I gave him a letter of introduction to the justice, before whom the girl would be brought up. This letter, after all, merely amounts to an assurance that he is a respectable man, whose word can be taken.

1893

January 1. The day was cold. I went in the morning, with all my staff, to the Élysée, where I found all the ambassadors and ministers of foreign countries in attendance to pay their respects to the President of the Republic. We were placed in a circle, around a large reception room, the President, some of his ministers and their staffs, in the middle. The Papal Nuncio, who has the right of precedence over all the ambassadors, said a few words, and was answered by the President. Both acquitted themselves with great tact. The diplomatic corps, being all in grand costume, showed off very well. The Americans alone were in black, and at the bottom of the list, but when the President went from one to another, as a sovereign would do, saying a few words, both he and Février, the Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honour, Siegfried and Tirard, ministers, treated us with marked attention.

January 2. Our New Year reception took place to-day, as the first was Sunday. We received from four to seven. Waldteuffel's band played. All the furniture had been moved out, the chimneys filled with flowers, and a buffet built up in the dining-room. All Americans who chose, and a great many French people passed through from four to seven, shaking hands and drinking champagne.

January 4. I have been troubled a great deal by a dentist from Monaco, Mordaunt Sigismund. This man seems to have quarrelled with the authorities of the place, and to think that it is the duty of the American Government to protect him. There being no representative of the United States at Monaco, he applied to the American minister in Paris, and he even went so far as to threaten me with attacks in Congress if

I did not exert myself in his behalf. The more I looked into the matter, the more I considered that he had no claim, and M. Vignaud, at my direction, wrote a despatch on the subject to the Secretary of State. I mention this matter principally in honour of M. Vignaud, whose despatch was a most able and lucid statement. I never heard anything more about the matter.

January 5. I was present at a great diplomatic dinner given at the Élysée by President Carnot. There were about one hundred people at table. As I was placed according to rank, I sat at the foot, and took in a very young lady, daughter of Lardy, the Swiss minister, General Borius, of the President's household, being on my other side. There was a brilliant reception afterwards of many hundred people.

January 7. Mrs. Sears and myself had the pleasure of hearing Mrs. Keenan sing, after a dinner at which we were present. Her voice is a high contralto, and is simply superb, and is thought by many to surpass Mrs. Story's and Sibyl Sanderson's, as it is more sympathetic. This lady is the wife of a banker. She was a New Orleans Eustis, and is a niece of my successor in France, Senator Eustis.

To-day occurred the only disagreeable episode which happened to me during my whole stay in this country. I wished to see Baron Mohrenheim, the Russian ambassador, and have some conversation with him about the Bering Sea controversy. I drove to his house, and was told that His Excellency was at home. I got out and went into the hall, and was asked to send in my name. I sent in the name of the minister of the United States. After being kept waiting for three or four minutes, and hearing some voices in the drawing-room, the footman came back and said that Baron Mohrenheim re-

gretted that he could not receive M. le Ministre as he had company. This is the first piece of downright insolence I have met in Europe. It was treating the representative of a power as great as his own as if he were a private individual, and of no importance. I spoke to one or two diplomats about it, and found that they took the same view that I did. I then told M. Vignaud to call on Count d'Ormesson and mention the matter to him, so that the Russian ambassador might excuse himself, if he saw fit, by saying that he did not know that it was the American minister. Mohrenheim, however, acknowledged that he knew it was the minister of the United States, but treated the matter with great indifference. He said that he would call upon me that day, but that he could not do so, because he was occupied with his mail. He would, however, leave a card in a few days. I considered that the dignity of the American nation ought to make me require an apology, but, at the same time, it was very undesirable to have any difficulty with the Russian Government at the time when the Bering Sea controversy was going on, and their interest and our own were the same. I concluded, therefore, to pay no more attention to the matter, but simply to have nothing further to do with the Russian Legation, until they had offered a proper explanation. Mohrenheim would never have treated an ambassador in so cavalier a manner.

January 9. The Chambers open to-morrow, and many people are afraid there will be public disturbances, but M. Poubelle, the Préfet of the Seine, who was at my reception, assured me that all the necessary steps had been taken to prevent any popular outbreak.

January 10. The Chambers met to-day, and proceeded to the election of a Speaker. The *appel nominal*, which was neces-

sary to reëlect Floquet, requires a majority of the whole Chamber of Deputies, but Floquet could only get two hundred and seventeen votes. The consequence was that Casimer-Périer was elected Speaker in his place. In the meantime the Cabinet had been changed. M. Loubet had lost his political authority, and M. Freycinet's name, Minister of War, had been too much taken in vain by the Paris press for his presence in the Cabinet to be otherwise than a source of danger to the Government. It was also thought that in the present troublous times the Minister of the Interior should be the President of the Council, which in France is the Prime Minister. M. Ribot, therefore, with the consent of M. Carnot, obtained the collective resignation of the Ministry, with the understanding that he should himself be at once asked to reconstitute it. M. Burdeau, the Minister of Marine, declined to retain his power, and at a late hour that night a new Cabinet was formed, Ribot taking the Interior and the Presidency of the Council; Develle, Foreign Affairs; Bourgeois, Justice; General Loizillon, War; Tirard, Finance; Dupuy, Public Instruction; Viette, Public Works; Viger, Agriculture; and Siegfried, Commerce. The Minister of Marine has not yet been appointed. I am sorry to lose M. Ribot in the Foreign Office, as I knew him well, and our relations were most pleasant. M. Develle is a stranger to me.

At a dinner to-day Justice Harlan of the Supreme Court told a story, which is so curious that I put it down. He said that when Hayes was nominated for President by a majority of seventeen votes, Kentucky could have turned the scale, and that Mrs. Blaine lost Kentucky by intemperate remarks. Kentucky was voting for Bristow, and it appears that many articles abusive of Mr. Blaine had appeared in those papers

which favoured the nomination of Bristow. Mr. Bristow had, however, apologized to Mr. Blaine, and Blaine seemed entirely satisfied. It so happened that Mr. Bristow was in Washington when Blaine had a sun-stroke, and was carried insensible into the house. Bristow came in accidentally to pay his respects, and found Mrs. Blaine kneeling by the side of her husband. Mrs. Blaine, looking him in the eye, and pointing to the recumbent body of her husband, said, "Sir, you have done your work well." This was telegraphed to Justice Harlan and the Kentucky delegation, and caused so much feeling that, when they had to give up urging the name of Bristow, they threw the solid vote of Kentucky for Hayes; otherwise, Mr. Blaine would probably have had the nomination, and become President of the United States.

January 11. The Panama scandal grows worse and worse. Freycinet is said to have received fifteen hundred thousand francs, Floquet six hundred and fifty thousand, Eiffel stole, and even De Lesseps went on puffing the affair, and inducing people to subscribe, when he knew that it was utterly worthless. A large set of financiers, newspapers, and many of the Government are utterly disgraced.

January 12. I attended a dinner at the Hotel Continental of three hundred and fifty French merchants given to M. Camille Kantz, who was the commissionaire sent by them to Chicago. At the head of the table sat Siegfried, the Minister of Commerce; I was on his right, and next to me the celebrated economist, Léon Say. After two or three speeches had been made, I read a short speech in French. This was extraordinarily well received. I had to stop several times and wait until the applause was over. There was nothing particular in the remarks I made, except that they indicated a kindly feel-

ing on our part toward France, and I was much pleased at the response which they brought out. I received afterwards many letters from French people, thanking me for and congratulating me on my remarks. A pamphlet was printed giving an account of this dinner.

January 14. There was a sharp flash of lightning to-day in a snow-storm, which struck the Eiffel Tower at nine in the morning. I was very much surprised that this tower, which is eleven hundred feet high, and entirely of iron, did not act as a sufficient conductor to carry away the electric discharge, and, although the fact was mentioned in all the papers, I am inclined to think it impossible. The Washington Monument, which is only five hundred and fifty-five feet high, has been struck repeatedly, but it is of stone, not iron, and since the necessary iron conductors have been placed on the monument, it has not suffered from any discharge.

I went to a charity ball, given by Count Hoyos, the Austrian ambassador, for the benefit of the poor Austrians in Paris. Madame Hoyos has collected twenty-three thousand francs by selling tickets for this ball. She opened it by waltzing with one of her legation. It was very full and successful, owing, I think, to the great popularity of the Countess, who is one of the most lady-like and charming women in Paris. I walked through a quadrille with Madame Hoyos, the first for thirty years.

January 16. It is very cold and snow has set it. We had our usual reception of about one hundred, and, amongst others there, was my friend P. C. Cheney of New Hampshire, who is on his way to Switzerland, where he has been sent as minister. He will be replaced very soon by the Democratic administration, but he seems to think that a few months will satisfy him.

The excitement about the Panama Canal is very great, and the newspapers have stated that one of the ambassadors received five hundred thousand francs. This is, no doubt, false, but Blowitz, the "Times" correspondent, tells me that the reason why Mohrenheim is suspected of having taken money, is because he is always short. He says that Mohrenheim accused Lord Dufferin, in "Le Petit Journal," of buying up newspapers, and that he deserves all he gets. The Government has expelled a Hungarian newspaper correspondent from France, without asking for his authority, which he offered to give. The reason of this act is not known, even to the newspapers. The Attorney General, Rau, has made a statement of the management of the Panama Canal, which is so striking that I give it at some length. At a meeting of the Congress of Geography, where the construction of the canal was decided upon, and where the concession obtained from the Government of Colombia was produced, M. Ferdinand de Lesseps issued the emphatic proclamation, "I built the Suez Canal; I shall build the Panama. A victorious general has not the right to decline, when he is asked to gain a new battle." From the very beginning we meet with falsifications in the figures. The Congress of Engineers had estimated the cost of construction at twelve hundred millions of francs. De Lesseps announces that the works at Panama will not go beyond four hundred millions of francs, and, after finding it difficult to issue the first subscription, he brings his figures down to three hundred millions. The difficulty with which this first subscription was met ought to have warned him to stop where he was. But, instead of that, De Lesseps preferred to listen to the advice of M. Levi Crémieux, who tells him to buy the assistance of the press, and of the bankers, and to give M.

Émile de Girardin eight hundred thousand francs. He establishes also a newspaper, called "Le Moniteur de Panama," to puff the enterprise. Contrary to all truth, he announces that the contractors, Couvreux and Hersent, have agreed, under a forfeit, to construct for eight hundred and forty-three millions of francs, seventy-three kilometres of the Panama Canal. Later he brought this valuation down to six hundred and fifty millions, and predicted that in 1888 there would be a solemn inauguration, already entertaining the public with the preparations for that ceremony. The expenses of the syndicate and of the commission had absorbed in the very beginning three-fifths of the first emission. In this general distribution the promoters had not forgotten themselves. They created nine hundred founders' shares, the value of which, at one time, rose to sixty-five millions of francs. M. de Lesseps had taken one hundred of these shares. In order to induce the public to take the successive subscriptions, they printed in their newspaper that the death-rate in the Panama works on the Isthmus was smaller than on similar works in Europe, thanking the press publicly at a meeting of the subscribers for having assisted them in triumphing over the calumnies of their enemies. But, notwithstanding all that, the confidence in the enterprise was becoming more and more shaky. The issue of 1884 had been only partially taken, and it required eighteen months to get rid of it. Still more money was required, and it then occurred to the directors, for the first time, to offer a loan to the public with a lottery attached. In 1885 M. de Lesseps asked the authorization of the Government to put out these lottery bonds, and in a letter to the minister he made utterly false statements. He said there had been four hundred and seventy-one millions spent in works, whereas,

only one hundred and seventy-five millions had so far been used, and he announced to the Chamber of Commerce that in three years everything would be finished. The truth was that the engineer, Rousseau, who had been sent out by the Government to the Isthmus, made a report that on account of the nature of the ground, a level canal was impossible. The company knew all about that. It knew also, by the reports of its own engineers, Royer and Gacquier, that they considered that one thousand millions of francs would be required, and fifteen to twenty years to finish the work. In the meantime De Lesseps was using the press. The "Revue des Deux Mondes" received twenty thousand francs for a single article, and he solicited small subscriptions through the "Bulletin de Panama." "It is the small people," said this newspaper, "those who place their savings in stockings, who built the Canal of Suez, and it is they who are now building the Panama Canal." In 1887 the company had two hundred and twenty-seven millions left. It had spent six hundred millions, and nobody could predict when the work would be finished. But more money was needed still. M. de Lesseps returned in 1887 to his project of a lottery, and he tells the public that M. Eiffel has taken charge of the locks, which were to be built, and that he, De Lesseps, required only six hundred millions more, which he asks from the public. There are tools and machinery on the Isthmus of Panama equal to five hundred and sixty-four thousand men in iron and steel, without counting the men of flesh and blood. Such were the assertions of De Lesseps at the beginning of the great subscription of 1888. The Attorney General then said that he would not take up the time of his hearers, by stating how this emission was passed through the Chambers. The manner in which it

was done will be taken up in another court of justice, and will be the cause of another lawsuit against the managers. After the failure of the subscription in 1888, the society was dead, and on the fourth of February, 1889, it was put into liquidation. It was only then that the receivers could measure the extent of the disaster. The public had furnished one milliard four hundred millions. The works executed represented six hundred and ninety-eight millions, but the other half of the capital, more than six hundred millions, had disappeared. Into what hands had this six hundred millions gone? A part, two hundred and fifty millions, had been used legitimately enough to pay the interest. The other three hundred and fifty millions had been wasted in the greatest disorder. The founders, the various syndicates, and the sellers of concessions had absorbed a part. The administration of the company had used up eighty-five millions at Panama and fifteen millions at Paris. Six hundred thousand francs had gone to pay for the trips of M. de Lesseps and of his son, to increase enthusiasm among the people. The famous "Bulletin de Panama" cost three hundred thousand francs. In the last two years the cost of the administration had been increased four hundred thousand francs a year. One hundred and fifteen different employees divided amongst themselves two million one hundred and fifteen thousand francs yearly. The inferior employees absorbed annually more than five millions. The administration of the company alone had devoured over one hundred millions. But besides these prodigious expenditures you must put down the millions swallowed up by contractors. The first ones, Couvreux and Hersent, received twelve hundred thousand francs of indemnity and extra pay, but the bargain with M. Eiffel, who had obtained the last

concession for the locks, was a perfect ruin to the company. The American Dredging Company received sixty-nine millions, and ten millions of indemnity. The Syndicate Jacob received sixteen millions, and an indemnity of eight hundred thousand, on which they realized a profit of fifty per cent. The Attorney General went on naming four or five other companies who made enormous profits, but those realized by Eiffel are simply enough to cause stupefaction. In order to get rid of his competitors, he agreed to pay The Society Sonderegger twenty per cent of the profits. He paid one million eight hundred thousand francs to Baron Reinach; one million seven hundred thousand francs to M. Hébrard, who was at the head of a great newspaper. What power had Hébrard and Baron Reinach to enable them to obtain for M. Eiffel concessions on the works of the canal? Eiffel began, when once in possession, to receive three millions for keeping the roads in order; eighteen hundred thousand francs for boats, and the company promised twelve hundred thousand francs for each lock; in all, ninety-six hundred thousand francs for eight locks. He received thirty-six francs (double as much as any of his predecessors) per cubic metre for the excavations. But that is not all. Material was needed. The Company of Panama had its own, and it furnished it to M. Eiffel. It agreed to pay him if more was needed. For this expense Eiffel received twelve millions; *i.e.*, three millions for each of the first four locks, and six millions for cost of transportation and putting up. Had M. Eiffel the right to touch this eighteen millions without furnishing any material? Certainly not. If he did not accomplish his part of the bargain, he ought not to have touched the money. There was another arrangement, by which Eiffel had a right to receive thirty per cent in advance

on the works, as soon as he had given the necessary orders for constructing the material. That order he gave to the Forges et Chantiers of the Mediterranean, and he received thirty per cent of the cost of the order, but at the moment of the failure, this company had delivered nothing. In all, Eiffel received from the Panama Canal seventy-three millions. He made a profit of thirty-three millions, of which he returned to the receivers three millions. He himself acknowledges a profit of fifteen millions. The cost of the various emissions was over one hundred millions of francs; thirty-six millions paid to the syndicate; twenty millions in commissions; twenty millions in advertising, and five millions for the printing of the stock and bonds. Levi Crémieux, Baron Reinach, and Oderndoerffer pocketed a large part of the funds used for the press, figuring as men of letters. When were the stockholders and holders of the bonds ever told of these facts? Never. The day after the receivership, engineers were sent out to the Isthmus. You know their report. They estimated that it would require nine hundred millions more, and eight years to finish the canal, and the traffic yearly through the canal was not estimated at more than sixty millions. You have, therefore, to wait twelve years to get back the sum still wanted. Would sixty millions of receipts be sufficient to pay the interest on fourteen hundred millions already expended, and nine hundred millions which were still wanted? To arrive at this result, one thousand five hundred millions have been taken out of the savings of the people for an enterprise, which a deputy has called "The greatest fraud of the century."

I took Judge Harlan, at a quarter past ten, to call on the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Develle. He is young, handsome, and intelligent. We were kindly received, and told that

rooms in the Palace of Foreign Affairs would be set apart for the Bering Sea controversy. He promises to see that Judge Harlan is received by the President.

January 18. I spoke to the new minister, Develle, about the Reciprocity Treaty in the French Senate, and also about the Wilson claim. They propose to pass a law in the Senate to protect members of the diplomatic corps from attacks from the press.

I dined to-day at Madame de Bussière's, a charming old French lady. She represents the Protestant aristocracy in Paris. A great many of them are of Swiss origin. She is the widow of a Senator and Ambassador to Italy under Louis Philippe. She owns a beautiful palace in Florence, called, I believe, Serviati, and a country house near Paris. She appears to have her time taken up almost entirely in charity and good works.

January 22. I received long despatches from the American Government, asking me to get the French to waive the request they had made to Peru, to give guarantees, in other words cash, to carry out the decision of the arbitrator to whom the Dreyfus claims were to be submitted. Instead of applying to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, I went at once to the Prime Minister, M. Ribot, and found, as I expected, that he was thoroughly conversant with the whole matter. He said the thing had been dragging along for ten years, and that the only chance the French subjects had of being paid their just claims was this very guarantee, which the French Government insisted on. I began by pointing out to him that the French had always treated small and insignificant nations with great magnanimity, which could not be said of some of the other European powers; that Peru probably had not the

means of furnishing the required guarantee, but that if she had, she could not agree to the demand of the French without virtually giving up her claim to autonomy; that the American Government, of course, had no right to ask of the French to alter their course, but that our offices had been solicited by Peru, and that we hoped M. Ribot's Government would waive a demand which was probably impracticable, and would adopt a course of magnanimity which would do credit to them, and give pleasure to the United States. He agreed to yield to the request, and to abandon the demand for a guarantee, and we parted on the most friendly terms; he, pleased to do for the United States what looked like a personal favour, and I, gratified in having succeeded in what my Government thought might be difficult. The Secretary of State, Foster, complimented me highly on my success in this negotiation.

The same day I dined with Baron de Seillière at Joseph's. The Prince de Sagan took Nora on his arm, and we were admitted to the celebrated Green Room, the foyer of the theatre. I felt as if we were on the most classic ground in Paris. The Comédie Française was founded in 1680 by Louis XIV, and, I think, was originally called "The King's Comedians." Molière acted before the King. It changed its location several times, and got through the French Revolution with much difficulty. At one time all the actors and actresses were arrested and thrown into prison, and came very near losing their heads. They were saved by the fact that one of their friends stole the copy of the judicial proceedings against them, and destroyed it. This caused a delay of some weeks. They were released, I believe, on the fall of Robespierre. In the year 1803, Napoleon, then First Consul, assigned to them permanently the theatre on the Rue Richelieu, which they have

occupied ever since, and gave them one hundred thousand francs a year. This amount was increased to two hundred and sixty thousand francs in 1856. The theatre is not large, but beautiful. In the public foyer, where many of the audience walk about between acts, is the celebrated statue of Voltaire. I need only recall the names of a few of the great actors and actresses who have made this theatre the most celebrated that the world has ever known: Talma, Mademoiselle Mars, Lekain, Samson, Régnier, the Brohans, Rachel, Got, Bressant, Mademoiselle Judith. Perhaps the most celebrated performance was the one that took place on the twenty-second of October, 1852, in honour of the new Emperor, Louis Napoleon. The pieces given were: 1. "Cinna," by Corneille. 2. "Il ne faut jurer de rien," by A. de Musset. 3. "L'Empire c'est la paix," by Arsène Houssaye. The Green Room of the theatre, into which we were shown, is small; around are hung pictures of many of the great artists who have belonged to the Comédie Française. Lefèbvre and Le Bargy, who were playing that night in the "Père Prodigue," did the honours, and I shook hands with Mademoiselle Reichenberg and Madame Marcy, who were in the room.

January 25. I made the acquaintance of the celebrated radical, Clémenceau, dining with him at Madame d'Aunay's, and going afterwards to the Vaudeville Theatre. He is a small man of about fifty-five, with white hair and a black mustache; quick in his movements, and full of wit, generally tinged with gall. He edits a paper called "La Justice," but has lost a good deal of his power by his intimacy with Cornelius Herz. His enemies think that he can never again recover his influence. He says that the Government, and especially Ribot, cannot last another week.

January 27. I received telegraphic news of the death of James G. Blaine. I had been on intimate terms with him, and had been fascinated, as everybody was who knew him well, by his amiability, the charm of his manner, and the vivid recollections which he had of everybody and everything that had happened in political life during the past twenty years. I think even his enemies must allow that his abilities were of the highest order. At the time that I was appointed minister, he was Secretary of State, but when he allowed himself to be put up for nomination against President Harrison, he resigned the office, and the first news I received on my arrival in Paris was that Mr. Foster had been appointed to the position.

January 28. I dined at Madame Laugel's to meet the Duc d'Aumale, who, as you all know, was the fourth son of King Louis Philippe. He was born in Paris the sixteenth of January, 1822, and was consequently seventy years old when I met him. He had distinguished himself very much in the Algerian wars, and it was to him that the great Abd-el-Kader had yielded himself up, after many years of a brilliant struggle against the French. When in 1848 his father was driven from the throne, and from the country, he was at the head of all the troops in Algeria, and with him was his older brother, the Prince de Joinville. I cannot but think that if d'Aumale had been in Paris, the old King would have remained on his throne. However that may be, d'Aumale behaved with the greatest patriotism. On hearing of the facts which had taken place in Paris, he issued a proclamation calling on the army and people to wait calmly for the decision of the country, and on the third of March he laid down his authority and went into exile. His words were touching: "Sub-

mitting to the desire of the nation, I leave you, but from my exile, all my wishes will be for the prosperity and the glory of France, whom I should have been delighted to serve much longer." He joined his family in England. He is a fine-looking man, with white hair and bald, his head being slightly bent. In walking he finds some difficulty from the gout. I noticed chalkstones on his hands. He converses with great fluency, both in French and English. After dinner I smoked a cigar with him, and he promised to invite me to Chantilly before I left. He said his father, Louis Philippe, had stayed with Washington, and that he had often thought of writing an account of this visit, but had been prevented by other occupations. His Royal Highness left at half-past ten.

January 30. I left at nine o'clock for a short visit to Rome. The sleeping cars were, in every respect, inferior to ours, being dirty and small. We found it very cold in crossing the Alps. The windows were covered with hoar-frost, so that we could not see out, and there was heavy snow.

January 31. We were passing through Northern Italy, and I amused myself by reading a novel, written by the Marquise Theodoli, called "Under Pressure."

Wednesday, February 1. At half-past six I arrived in Rome, and went to the Quirinal Hotel. I then walked over to the Legation, and delivered to them the counter case of the Bering Sea embroglio. I saw our minister, Mr. Porter, and made many visits. Rome is filled with Americans, many of whom do our country the greatest credit. I was at a ball at the Brancaccios', where I was introduced to the nephew of the King, the young Count of Turin. The next few days were passed in perpetual calls, on Americans, English, and Italians. I saw the beautiful Marquise Theodoli, who, although

born in the United States, has passed her whole life in Rome, and made a romantic marriage, against, I believe, the wishes of the parents. The society in Rome is very animated, but without any apparent conversation. The gentlemen go up and say a few words to a lady, and then leave immediately for another one.

February 6. I was at the German ambassador's and saw the King and Queen, the latter of whom danced a quadrille.

February 7. I was received by the Queen in a private audience at half-past one. I was told to go in full evening dress. After waiting a few minutes in one of the reception rooms, where one of the chamberlains entertained me, one of the ladies-in-waiting came in, and after shaking hands, and a few complimentary remarks, led me into an adjoining drawing-room, and told me that I would find Her Majesty in the next room. I walked in, and found the Queen standing in a very large room filled with furniture and objects of art. You bow at the door, bow again half-way up, and then kiss her hand. In receiving men she invariably remains standing, and you feel all the time that you are causing her useless fatigue. She is still beautiful, as well dressed as an American, which is the highest praise I can give, and speaks many languages perfectly. She asked me many questions about the United States, and took occasion to compliment the two or three American beauties who were figuring in Rome at the time. When the audience was over, she gave me her hand to kiss, as a signal that I might leave, and I retired without accident, although it is no easy matter to back down through a large room filled with furniture, as you cannot turn your back on Her Majesty. Every now and then some unfortunate diplomat gets tripped over by his sword, or a foot-stool, before reaching the door.

February 9. I was received by the King. To this private audience I was told to go in morning dress. I went through the same forms as the day before until I reached the room in which His Majesty was seated. He got up immediately, walked towards me, shook my hand in the most cordial manner, and pointing to an arm-chair, sat down himself in another. He seemed very willing to talk, and during the half-hour that my visit lasted, he spoke almost all the time. He gave me the impression of a most honest and excellent man, who is overwhelmed by the difficulties of the situation in which he finds himself. His conversation was almost entirely about the condition of Italy. This country is, at the present time, undergoing a financial crisis of great severity, which has ruined a great many of the old Roman families. Besides, the taxation on the people is so great that the King said it was almost unbearable. He said that he should be most happy to lay down his position, if the country wished him to do so. He only hoped for the best. He expected European peace to last for some years yet, although he said that the French had spent, during the past year, a milliard of francs on their army, in a time of peace; that Italy was crushed by the expenditures on her army and her navy, and that this state of things could not last. He seemed almost glad to find a third person to whom he could pour out his troubles; but I really saw no relief in the situation, unless he could give up the Triple Alliance, disband his army, reduce his navy, and content himself with the position of a second-class power, trusting to the jealousies of the other nations to protect Italy from being conquered by one of them. Of course, I could not tell him so, and, after a few complimentary remarks for the country and for himself, I retired. He is a man of middle age, with a very

heavy mustache, but the most peculiar thing about him is his eye, which has the same wild appearance that was so marked in the eyes of Victor Emanuel.

I passed my time very pleasantly in a perpetual round of entertainments. As usual, the English Embassy is the finest of any in Rome, and the palace has a large garden attached to it. Lord Vivian was then the representative of the English Government.

February 11. I left for Monte Carlo, which I reached on the twelfth at noon. The music was fine, and so was the Casino and the grounds surrounding it. Indeed, every prospect pleases, but man, or rather woman, is vile.

February 13. I went over to Nice, where I breakfasted with our consul, Harrison Bradley, and thence to the Club of the Mediterranean, to see the Bataille des Fleurs, which was exceedingly pretty; all the carriages competing with one another which should be the most beautifully ornamented with flowers, and a regular fight going on with bouquets thrown into the carriages. I went back the same evening to Monte Carlo, in order to hear Sara Bernhardt play "Fédora," in the little theatre attached to the gambling rooms. I saw very few persons that I knew, and it struck me that most of the players stuck to the roulette tables, where they could use five-franc pieces, rather than to the Rouge et Noir, where the stakes were gold. Nevertheless, I see that twenty millions of francs are made in a year by the gambling tables. I do not think that the chances are more than two per cent, or two and one-half per cent, in favour of the tables, but people are very apt to go on playing when they win, whilst they are compelled to leave off when they have lost what money they had.

February 15. I reached home very comfortably on the morn-

ing of the fifteenth, and found all well. We had a great dress reception at the new Spanish ambassador's, M. Leon y Castillo, with the usual music, but my daughter and I spent from three to six at the Chamber, hearing the most violent attacks against M. Ribot and his Government, both from the Radicals on the Left, and from the Right of the Chamber, the two extremes having apparently combined to attack the Ministry. At this time, however, Ribot received three hundred to one hundred and eighty votes.

Sunday, February 19. A most lovely warm day. I walked in the Bois, and made many calls, amongst others on the widow of General McClellan, who wishes me to act as witness at her daughter's marriage to a Frenchman, Desprez, who was the French Conseiller de Légation at Washington. I found there all the Desprez family. Miss McClellan seemed very happy, and is apparently willing to give up her religion for her love.

February 20. The delegates from England and Canada to the Bering Sea tribunal are here, Lord Hannen and Sir John Thompson; the lawyers, Sir Charles Russell, who, I think, is Attorney General, and Sir Richard Webster, who was Attorney General under the Tory administration. Baron de Courcel I saw also.

February 22. I called with Justice Harlan on the Prime Minister, Ribot, and afterwards on Lord Hannen, a tall old man, with charming manners, which are certainly rare with the English. I think the strongest impression he made was that of being a gentleman. We discussed the meeting, which was to take place the next day, of the arbitrators in the Bering Sea controversy. In the evening I drove over a long way with my daughter to 131 Mont Parnasse, to the American Art Association. This is a club founded for the use of the

American artists in Paris, and is really almost a charitable institution. Many of the artists are very poor, and thankful to have a place where they can make one another's acquaintance, and read the papers. They have a library, to which I subscribed five hundred francs. We were received by a young Cabot of Boston, and Mr. Whipple. The rooms were hung with pictures by various members. We had music, and there were many ladies present. At half-past ten, we went to Lord Dufferin's, where I was introduced to Sir Charles Russell and Sir Richard Webster.

February 23. The arbitrators of the Bering Sea controversy adjourned for a month. I wrote my resignation, and forwarded it to Washington, to take place whenever the President should appoint my successor. I also urged strongly that an ambassador, and not a minister, should be sent. I took the Extradition Treaty to the French Government, with various amendments, and did my best to induce them to accept it, as our Senate had passed it, and it would delay matters very much to have it go back in another shape. I also sent to Washington the reply of the French Government, expressed most moderately, in answer to our strong Liberian despatch of July thirteenth, but I have already given a detailed account of that affair.

There was a magnificent reception at the Élysée, at which, I think, at least five thousand persons were present.

February 26. By invitation of Duc d'Aumale, my daughter and I breakfasted at the palace of Chantilly. There were twenty at table, all French, but the dining-room was so immense that the table only occupied one end, being set across. My daughter was, unfortunately, quite poorly, and, as she had the honour of sitting next to the Duke, she felt hardly up

to conversation, and could eat nothing, but His Royal Highness was kind enough not to perceive it. The breakfast was animated, the Duke doing most of the conversation. After breakfast the gentlemen went into another room, where he took a pipe, and then led us all through the magnificent rooms, the galleries and the library — truly a royal residence. He took much pleasure in showing and explaining everything, and was very proud of everything pertaining in any respect to the Condés, from whom he descends. The castle dates from 1063, but the present one was built in about 1500 or 1600, by the Connétable de Montmorenci. It was much enlarged by His Royal Highness. This beautiful estate and its enviable treasures of art have been left by the will of Duc d'Aumale to the French Academy, of which he is a distinguished member. At half-past four we took our leave, and returned by train to Paris.

February 27. M. Jules Ferry was elected President of the Senate, vice Le Royer, whose health had completely broken down. He made a quiet and sensible speech in taking the chair.

March 2. Congress has passed a law authorizing the sending of ambassadors to foreign countries, if they express a desire of that kind.

I called on Count Münster, the German ambassador, who has recovered. He thinks that Ferry's election means the return to power of Constans and mischief to the present Government.

March 3. The weather is as beautiful as our best June, and I have had to put on lighter clothing. Nothing can be finer than the spring in Paris. March, April, May, and June are sunshiny and warm. This season does not exist with us, but

we certainly have a less gloomy and disagreeable autumn.

March 4. President Cleveland is inaugurated.

March 5. I dined at Mrs. Lee's, where I met, amongst others, Mr. Jephson, who accompanied Stanley across Africa on his search for Emin Pasha, and who afterwards joined Emin and stayed with him while Stanley was returning to look after the followers he had left. This gentleman, who is very young and good-looking, gave us a most interesting account of Africa. He says that there are eighty thousand dwarfs left. They are about three feet and ten inches in height, and of good proportions. He thinks they are the aborigines of Africa. Unfortunately they inhabit only the dense forests, and if exposed to the sun, they die of fever, so that the expedition did not succeed in bringing any back to England. They live naked, and are irritable and quarrelsome. Their weapons are bows with poisoned arrows. Most of them speak the language of the negro tribes amongst whom they reside, and Mr. Jephson says that he only found a distinct language in two of their villages. Emin Pasha he describes as a man of much ability, and a wonderful linguist. He had, however, no sense of responsibility. It was impossible for him to tell the truth on any subject, and it never occurred to him to carry out a promise. He said that in his opinion Emin was still alive.

March 6. I went to hear "The Prophet" at the Grand Opéra. The house was filled to overflowing, and Jean de Reszke met with the most enthusiastic applause. I attended the civil marriage of Miss McClellan, at the Mairie of the Seventh Arrondissement, to M. Desprez.

Tuesday, March 7. The Papal Nuncio remarried the pair this morning at eleven o'clock. As a witness I led the bride on my arm, and General Batcheller, the second witness, took Mrs.

Sears. We afterwards had a wedding breakfast at the Hôtel France et Bade. I was amused to see everything, down to the minutest details, as well as an account of the presents and pictures of the bride and groom, in the New York Paris "Herald." The love of publicity seems to be the great weakness of the age. Although the wedding took place at eleven o'clock, we were in white cravats and dress suits. I went in the evening, with Mrs. Sears, to see a play at the Français, called "La Paix du Ménage." This piece was admirably acted by Bartet, Worms, and Le Bargy — the most witty, satirical, and immoral thing De Maupassant ever wrote!

March 8. I saw M. Develle, and gave him a list of the war vessels which the English, Russians, and Italians were to send to Hampton Roads, pointing out to him that one new vessel, the "Jean Bart," of forty-two hundred tons, and two old wooden vessels were hardly a fair representation for a great country like France, and would compare unfavourably with the fleets of the other nations. I pressed the matter again on M. Ribot, whom I met at the reception of Casimir-Périer. The dinner was very handsome, and the reception afterwards brilliant. All the ambassadors, except Mohrenheim, were present, including the Papal Nuncio.

March 9. A ball at the Élysée, which was immensely crowded, and amongst the many thousands present, I saw many people who must have got in by false pretences.

March 10. I met the ex-Secretary of State, Mr. Foster, and his wife, at the station. They had just arrived from England, as Mr. Foster has to take charge of the Bering Sea controversy.

March 11. I went to a musicale at Dr. F——'s. Plançon, Richard, Marcy, and many others sang — a very successful but rather Bohemian party.

March 12. At Count d'O——'s I found, to my surprise, that Yvette Guilbert was hired to sing after dinner. Although I suppose she attempted to produce her most refined songs, they were vile beyond belief. She is quite ugly, but has the power of giving an air of indescribable vulgarity to any song. The French did not seem shocked in the least, and there were very respectable and excellent people there.

March 13. I breakfasted with J. C. Carter and Mr. Phelps, the two great lawyers whom the United States has sent out to plead its cause on the seal question. They have just arrived. Carter I have known for fifty years, as he was my classmate, and graduated in 1850. He has risen steadily until he stands at the head of the bar in New York, and in the United States. Mr. Phelps was a distinguished professor at Yale, made a most efficient minister to England during the first administration of Mr. Cleveland, and should have been appointed Chief Justice. The common impression is that political reasons made Mr. Cleveland give up his nomination. I saw much of these two gentlemen, and heard many of their arguments before the commission, and they were certainly the equals, in every respect, of the distinguished men, Webster and Russell, whom England had sent over.

I engaged my passage home for the seventeenth of June, a. I have no doubt that my successor will be appointed before that time, and it is the quietest month to cross the ocean.

I sat from four until quarter past seven at the Tribune, listening to the debates in the Chamber of Deputies. The Government were accused of having tried to bribe a certain Madame Cottu, by promising her that they would pardon her husband if she would give testimony in the Panama scandal against any one member of the Right. The scene was incon-

ceivably violent. Bourgeois, Minister of Justice, denied that he had ever employed or authorized Soinoury, Chief of the Secret Police, or anybody else, to use his name in this matter. M. Ribot supported his subordinate, M. Soinoury, whom he said should not be condemned untried, and he threw doubts on the whole of Madame Cottu's story. Cavaignac, formerly Minister of Marine, attacked M. Ribot violently. He succeeded, however, in taking off no more than twenty votes from the Left Centre. The great Monarchist, M. de Mun, was the best orator of the day. He charged the Ministry with governing basely and one-sidedly. In the middle of the tumult Millevoye was censured, which, I believe, deprives him of the right to speak during the session. He had, however, the privilege of defending himself, and he made use of this to heap more and more violent abuse upon the Government. Most of the speakers could not be heard, owing to the perpetual interruptions. In the midst of all this, the report of the testimony of M. Goliard was read. This man swore that he and Madame Cottu had arranged and made up what should be said by the lady, before she appeared as a witness. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Government won the day by sixty votes. In the Tribune were the old Marquise de la Ferronnays, Mrs. Austin Lee, Countess Zichy, the ambassadors from Spain, Germany, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, and some of the South American Republics.

We were going that evening to dine with the Prime Minister, but we did not sit down until quarter past nine. Both M. and Madame Ribot looked tired out, and I think she, poor woman, suffers more from the attacks made on her husband than he does himself.

March 14. I went to Mrs. Ayer's, where we heard the famous

prima donna of the opera, Caron. She never sang better, nor looked handsomer. She is a great pet of the French public, and the principal singer at the Grand Opéra, although her voice is no longer young and her face and figure are wanting in beauty; but she is a most admirable actress. Besides her we heard Plançon and Saléza. Afterwards Mademoiselle Bartet gave some recitations in a way worthy of the Comédie Française, to which she belongs. In the evening we went to another performance at Madame Siegfried's, where Sibyl Sanderson and Soulacroix sang. Jacques, Frénaux, and Berr of the Comédie Française recited, and Loie Fuller danced. What a wonderful place Paris is! Here in one day I have twice heard the best artists in the world, and both times at private entertainments. I went to Minister Siegfried's, hoping to meet Ribot and Develle, and have some conversation with them about the appointment of ambassadors, because the United States cannot act unless France suggests that it would be agreeable to her. But neither of these gentlemen was present. I suppose both were too tired out. When men are fighting for their own lives, they do not think much of the little troubles of their neighbours.

March 15. I went to see Lord Dufferin's portrait by Benjamin Constant, at the artist's studio. He is represented in his peer's robes. The likeness is good, but the face is rather that of a man of the world than of a statesman, and therefore is, perhaps, not quite worthy of Lord Dufferin.

I am pressing the Extradition Treaty, which I have the power to sign, and I hope also to get the French to act on the question of ambassadors. With this in view, I had on the sixteenth a long conversation with Count d'Ormesson, and told him that Mr. Foster had been informed by Lord Rosebery

that England was about to send an ambassador to the United States, and suggested that the French should act. I suppose the first appointee will be the head of the diplomatic body in Washington, and this is exactly what happened, for my friend Lord Pauncefote, being first appointed, became the doyen, much to the chagrin of the French.

To-day poor Ribot was again attacked by the French bar in some scathing newspaper articles for some remarks that he made in relation to the famous X. This X is supposed to cover the name of Ambassador Mohrenheim, who, it is said, received money from the Panama purse. The Government had requested that the name should not be made public on the Panama trials, and this, of course, excited the curiosity and vindictiveness of the Opposition.

March 17. Jules Ferry died. This man has been distinguished for many years. He did not become minister until 1879, but had been deputy from 1869 to 1871, and 1876 and 1877. He had become chairman of the commission on the tariff, when Grévy, who had just been elected President in 1879, appointed him Minister of Public Instruction and of Fine Arts in his Cabinet, over which Waddington presided. The crisis of the twenty-eighth of December still left Ferry in his post, although Waddington had to give way to Freycinet. On the twenty-third of September, 1880, Jules Ferry became Prime Minister, but had to retire when what was called the Great Cabinet, presided over by Gambetta, came into power. He became, however, Prime Minister again in 1883, and remained in power until March, 1885, when the defeat of Langson brought on a catastrophe, and so mortified the whole French nation that Jules Ferry was buried for many years. So that Ferry has been five times minister and twice Prime Minister.

He held power the first time for twenty consecutive months; for a fortnight in 1881, and for two years in 1883 to 1885. From that time he disappeared until he was appointed President of the Senate at the end of last February, after he had been left unnoticed for eight years.

To-day papers were made public that indicated that Cornelius Herz had squeezed out of Baron Reinach nearly eleven millions of francs. He must have known of some criminal action by the Baron, and have had the power of blackmailing him. He seems to have been one of the worst villains implicated in the Panama scandal. The unfortunate Baron had made out a list of the sums of money which he had been obliged to pay to Cornelius Herz, and all these papers were made public.

The same day there was a violent dynamite explosion in Rome, at the palace Antici Mattei, where our Minister Porter lives. The stairs and windows were smashed, although nobody was killed. If the present state of political excitement continues through Europe, I should not be surprised at uprisings in Paris, for the weakness of the Government, and the want of strength and initiative in Republican institutions to control the lower classes, lead the worst element to lift up their heads, as they can lose nothing, and have everything to gain by tumult and destruction of property.

March 19. The Gaulois newspaper comes out this morning with a copy from the "Libre Parole" of the most insulting piece on poor Madame Ribot. It intimates that it is due to her hatred of the grace and charm of French women that this Yankee woman laid a plot to disgrace Madame Cottu. With a free press, I do not see how you can ever prevent such infamous falsehoods; but it must have a tendency, as it has in the

United States, to keep many intellectual and refined people from touching politics. We went at once and left our cards on Madame Ribot.

March 20. Mr. Foster is in a good deal of trouble about the action of the Russian Government, who want, of course, to make common cause with us on the question of the seals. The Government has very foolishly offered to accept a protected zone for thirty miles round the islands, during the season. This is a plan which England offered to us, and which we refused. As the seals go out over a hundred miles to catch fish, a zone which only protects thirty miles would be utterly insufficient to save the females from complete annihilation.

At the opera with Lady Dufferin, where I saw a ballet called "Maladetta," in which the best dancers, Mouri and Sura, figured. We had our usual Monday reception. The German, Austrian, and Italian ministers were present, and Ressman brought with him Visconti Venosta. He is a man of great merit, formerly, I believe, Prime Minister of Italy, and has been appointed by his Government one of the arbitrators. The board is certainly a distinguished one, as Gram, the appointee of Sweden and Norway, became, I think, Prime Minister while he was sitting on the board. The same day the President sent to the Senate the name of James B. Eustis, ex-Senator from Louisiana, to be my successor. A good appointment. He is an uncle of Miss Lydia Eustis, Mrs. Keenan, and Mrs. Du Bos, who are all really French, and who can assist him in making the Legation agreeable and distinguished. I am very glad the matter is settled, for it was disagreeable to be in suspense, and not to know how long I should have to remain. As it is, I have enjoyed my year exceedingly, and made

many friends, and have been received everywhere with the greatest kindness.

March 21. After lunch I called on Visconti Venosta, Sir Richard Webster, Sir Charles Russell, and on the Viscount de Meaux. I was at the Théâtre Français in the evening. This seems to be the fashionable night. Near me sat a beautiful woman, who turned out to be the Princess Hénin. She has American blood, being a granddaughter of old Mr. Ridgeway.

March 22. M. Jules Ferry's funeral took place at one o'clock at the Palace of the Luxembourg. There was a magnificent catafalque, and many regiments of foot and horse. Speeches were made by Bardoux, Vice-President of the Senate; Casimir-Périer, Speaker of the House; Ribot, Prime Minister; Dupuy, Minister of Education; and Méline, a friend of the deceased. None were striking. The crowd was very great, the chairs few, and I had to stand during the whole ceremony.

At dinner to-day Lord Dufferin told me that Pauncefote, English minister at Washington, had been made ambassador.

March 23. Owing to an article in the New York "Herald," Augustus Jay, who has been Second Secretary for eight years, is very anxious about his place. I have written to the Attorney General, Olney, and hope it is a false alarm. It proved, however, but too true. President Cleveland had apparently turned out both Vignaud and Jay without knowing anything of their respective merits, but Vignaud was put back at the request of Mr. Eustis, who told the President he could not perform the duties of ambassador without him. Jay was succeeded by Newton Eustis, the son of my successor.

The Bering Sea commission met to-day at two o'clock at

the Foreign Office, and were welcomed by Develle. They went thence to the Élysée, where d'Ormesson introduced the judges, and Lord Dufferin and myself, the counsel, the agents, and the secretaries.

I dined at Senator Waddington's. The Ribots, the Dufferins, the Lees, M. Barbey, formerly Minister of Marine, and many others were there. We had, as usual, music and recitation. From there we went to Viette's, Minister of Public Works, where we found an immense reception. Mounet-Sully, Coquelin the younger, Brandès, from the Français, Alvary, Plançon, from the Opéra, Soulacroix, from the Opéra Comique, Carrère and Tanesy, recited and sang.

March 24. I breakfasted at Baron de Tucher's, the representative from Bavaria, to meet the Infanta Eulalie, who is going to the United States to be present at the Chicago celebration. I sat on her right. Don Antonio, her husband, the grandson of Louis Philippe, took Mrs. Sears in, and sat opposite to his wife. The Schöns of the German Embassy, the Gierses of the Russian, and four or five others formed the company. Her Royal Highness is a blonde, about twenty-nine years of age. She is pretty, chatty, and seems willing to be pleased. She sails in the middle of April for New York, touching at the Spanish islands of Porto Rico and Cuba. She is to be the guest of the nation. I warned her a little of the enormous amount of handshaking which she would have to undergo, but she said that she liked the handshake. Thence we went to an exhibition of Revolutionary relics at the Quai d'Orsay, which have been collected, and are to be sent, on the part of France, to Chicago. These relics relate mostly to Lafayette, Washington, and Franklin. There were also many maps, tapestries, swords, and vases, many of them having an

historic interest. Justice Harlan and Senator Morgan were there.

March 25. I received a telegram from the Secretary of State, Gresham, stating that the President will show his appreciation of the friendly act by sending an ambassador to Paris. I informed Develle at once; so the matter is settled, and Mr. Eustis will be ambassador. I went with Lieutenant Rodgers to a reception at the Prime Minister's, and was struck by the absence of the diplomats. I suppose the uncertainty of the Government is so great that the foreign representatives neglected the attentions which they would otherwise have paid.

March 27. Challemel-Lacour has been chosen to the Academy, in the place of Renan, and also to the Presidency of the Senate, in the place of Jules Ferry — two extreme honours. It is said that these appointments have much political importance, as his defeated adversary was Constans, one of the ablest and most bitter opponents of the President and his Government.

I saw, for the first time, this evening the well-known Jeanne Hading, in a piece by Augier, called "Les Effrontés." This was at the Français, and she met with great and deserved success. As she is not handsome, she owes it to her acting.

March 29. Mr. McLane, whom I called upon, says that he expected to be made minister to France. He seemed to think that the President had intimated to him that he should have the place. He says I must not deliver my letters of recall until Eustis has arrived in France, and advises me to stay here and receive him, and says that I can go as soon as the French President has received Mr. Eustis officially.

I met Lord Hannen, who says that the Bering Sea question ought to have been settled by the diplomats, and not left to arbitration. I told him that we were very willing to settle it,

and should have done so, but that Canada had interfered, and prevented England from acting, to all of which he seemed to assent.

March 31. *Good Friday.* The Government fell last night by a vote of five on an unimportant question on the tax of drinks. Of course this must have been an excuse. The real trouble seems to have been a quarrel between the House and Senate on money bills. The Cabinet have agreed to go together, and not to form a new Ministry. All the receptions and dinners are given up. I pity Madame Ribot, who has just moved into a new palace, the one usually occupied by the Prime Minister, near the Palace of the Élysée. She has put it in order at great trouble and expense, and now must leave it again.

Received notice of Jay's dismissal. This is Cleveland's Civil Service with a vengeance, and I think the Democrats mean to make a clean sweep of every place, without regard to merit. Josiah Quincy made himself famous, or rather infamous, as Assistant Secretary, in turning out every consul, good, bad, or indifferent, and leaving the affairs of the country in the hands of totally ignorant and inexperienced men. Most of the nominations to the higher offices have been poor, but I must except Bayard, appointed ambassador to England, who ought to fill the place with distinction.

April 2. *Easter Sunday.* A superb day, but hot as summer.

April 3. The usual complimentary letter from the Secretary of State, accepting my resignation, and asking me to hold on until my successor is received. We also received telegrams from the Department, denying the injurious reports which had been spread against Mr. Foster. It appears that the ex-Secretary was so annoyed at the abuse poured upon him in the Bering Sea controversy, by the Democratic press, that he

threatened to throw up his position, as he thought that, unless the Department put an end to this abuse, he would lose all moral influence.

In the evening we went to hear "Lohengrin." The two De Reszkes sang. The younger one's, Jean's, voice is slightly off, but it has a most touching quality of tone which carries you off your feet. The house was immense. We had M. and Madame Casimir-Périer in the box with two or three others.

April 4. I went to a meeting of the Bering Sea arbitrators. It was a very imposing sight. The hall is very large, and it was handsomely decorated. At one end on the dais sat the arbitrators, Baron de Courcel in the centre, having on his right Lord Hannen, Gram from Norway, and Sir J. D. Thompson from England. On his left were Judge John M. Harlan, United States; Visconti Venosta, Italy; Senator John T. Morgan, United States. They were faced by an array of counsel; on the side of England, Sir Charles Russell and Sir Richard Webster, with their satellites, occupying two tables; on the side of the United States, Carter and Phelps, and their assistants, occupying two tables on the left. Behind them were the public, on handsome benches, which filled the back of the hall. I recognized many American faces. The time was taken up in arguments about the admission of evidence. Sir Charles Russell and Webster, Phelps and Carter all spoke, the last the best.

I called on Pontevès with Mrs. Sears. The old man was in bed with a broken ankle. He seemed very glad to see us. Madame Gustave Rothschild was there. The evening of the same day Mrs. Ayer gave us a farewell dinner, and we heard superb music. Van Dyck, Deschamps, and Jehin sang. Holl-

mann played on the violoncello, Wolff on the violin, and Hasselmans on the harp. Perhaps the tenor and Hollmann and Wolff are the greatest performers now living in their particular province.

April 5. The new Government, with Dupuy at its head, is thought to be very weak.

April 8. We dined at the German ambassador's, and went afterwards to the Dufferins', hoping to see the great beauty, Lady Helen Vincent, but, I am sorry to say, we got there too late.

Sunday I breakfasted in company with the actor Coquelin. He is very amusing, and conceited beyond measure. He says Clémenceau, whom he hates, is not ruined, but will soon come up again, like a Jack-in-the-box, to do all the mischief he can. He gave us some very amusing French stories as spoken by Englishmen.

April 11. Breakfasted at Mrs. Moore's, and I heard a musicale given by Mrs. Keenan, where she and her sister, Miss Eustis, sang. Williams, our consul at Havre, refuses to let "La Touraine" clear next Saturday, unless he is paid five thousand francs for work out of his usual hours. This is contrary to the instructions of the Department of December 30, 1892, and it is, in my opinion, very near blackmail, and a disgrace to the United States. Consul-General King telegraphed very strongly to him to do his duty, and I promised Rameau, who came to see me from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, that I would do all I possibly could. Unfortunately, Williams has already been turned out, as he deserves, and wants, I suppose, to make all he can the last few days of his tenure of office.

April 12. I have despatches from Washington, ordering Williams to do his duty by clearing "La Touraine" before his of-

fice hours, so as to allow her to profit by the tide. I suppose this will compel him to do so.

April 13. It was cold, and the sky was overcast. This was really the first cloudy day since March first. For five or six weeks we had had weather which would have been surprisingly fine anywhere in the world.

Carter made a magnificent argument on the principles which ought to govern the court in their decision. He took the ground that there was no law by which they should be ruled, except that of what was right and what was just, for neither the laws of England nor the laws of the United States could govern in an international dispute.

We were at the Palais Royal Theatre this evening. This theatre backs on a place called the Palais Royal. When I was here forty to fifty years ago it was the liveliest part of Paris, filled with brilliantly lighted cafés and crowds of fashionable people, and surrounded by beautiful shops. It is now completely deserted. I suppose the new boulevards, principally the one of the Grand Opéra, have taken away the trade. The cafés are empty. I think the value of the property must have fallen at least one-half. It used to belong to the Orléans family, and it was here that the Regent carried on his scandalous household. I do not know whether it has been confiscated by the Government or not.

April 17. After our usual reception, we took Mr. Phelps and Lord Hannen and his son to the opera, to hear Van Dyck in "Lohengrin."

The minister of Siam sent a Mr. Wyke, to lay before the American Embassy the complaints of his Government against the French, who were enforcing a claim for money and territory with two gun-boats in front of their capital.

They, the Siamese, have already complained to the English, German, and some other nations. I told him that I did not believe that in their present condition of finances, France had any intention of going to war, and that Siam had the sympathy of the American nation, but that my successor would be here in a week, and that he had better see him, if he wished anything done.

April 20. I went at ten o'clock at night to Mrs. Ayer's, to see Coquelin. The house was beautifully ornamented with flowers. The play, which was "Supplice du Divorce," was witty and well acted.

April 21. Some of the newspapers intimated that Captain Borup had been ordered to Chicago to assist in receiving foreigners. This they considered an insult to the French nation. They interviewed me about the matter, of which I had not heard, and the truth of which I doubted, and they then went on to say that I attributed the story to the German and English embassies, who were always trying to make mischief. On seeing these statements in the newspapers, I felt obliged to write to Count Münster and Lord Dufferin, branding the statement as a falsehood. They both answered that they had seen the charge attributed to me in the newspapers, but had placed no confidence in the statement.

The Home Rule Bill passed on the night of the twentieth, by over forty majority, after a second reading in the House of Parliament.

April 22. The Americans residing in Paris met at the Continental Hotel to offer me a dinner at parting. This I declined, but I was very much pleased by the language in which Mr. Phelps, the former United States minister to the Court of St. James, spoke of me, and by the fact that General Foster,

my former chief, took occasion to praise, in the highest manner, my record in the State Department at Washington, for a high order of diplomatic merit. I think that this meeting gave me more pleasure than anything that has happened to me abroad. They sent me afterwards an illuminated address.

April 23. I went over with Lieutenant Glassford to the Quartier Latin, to examine the great war balloon, made entirely of gold-beaters' skin, which the lieutenant has set up for the American Government, and which he means to take over to the United States. These balloons are attached to the ground, and let out, to examine the movements of the enemy. They are copied from the French, and I suppose are as strong and light as art can make them.

April 25. I called to say good-bye to Madame Carnot at the Palais de l'Élysée, but found her ill with *la grippe*. She sent me her box at the Opera. The weather continues very fine, but quite hot, about 82°.

April 26. There was an amusing and great scandal in the French clubs, between a M. de Bréteuil and a Jewish gentleman named Michel Ephrussi. The story was, that rather than fight a duel the latter gentleman had agreed to send a million of francs to the poor of Paris. I know nothing of the truth of this report, but the whole thing is odd.

April 27. I bought some trinkets at Morel's in the Rue Richelieu, who seems to me to be one of the best jewellers in this town of jewellers.

April 28. I met at breakfast the Prince and Princess Pless. The Princess is a beautiful blonde, and, I believe, a daughter of the celebrated beauty, Mrs. Cornwallis West. There was also a Miss Tennant, who has since married Asquith, the Home Secretary. At two o'clock we went through the salon

of the Champs-Élysées, following, with many others, in the train of the President and Madame Carnot.

April 29. Lady Dufferin gave us a dinner of thirty-five, and a large reception afterwards. All the ambassadors were there, and Mohrenheim accosted me as "mon cher collègue," and made much ado about his misfortune in not having received my visit.

April 30. I drove at eight o'clock with Vignaud, Rodgers, and Jay to the St. Lazare Station to meet the new Ambassador, Mr. Eustis, who went to the Grand Hotel.

May 1. There had been threats of a popular uprising, to take place on this day, in Paris and in other European capitals. So great was the anxiety of the Government that the streets were left unwatered, in order that the cavalry might charge on them without slipping. Very few carriages were out. But matters got more cheerful in the afternoon, as no disturbance took place. My daughter, Mrs. Sears, attempted to drive down town at half-past three, but on reaching the Place de la Concorde the collection of people appeared so threatening that her coachman refused to go any further, and turned back.

May 3. Ambassador Eustis and his brother Allan breakfasted with us and Montsaulnin. Mr. Eustis said that he had advised the President to pay everything in silver, and to keep the one hundred millions of gold reserve, which he had in the Treasury, intact. This would, in my opinion, simply bring on a crash at once, and amount to voluntary repudiation. The senator, on the contrary, thought it would strengthen the hands of the Government, as they would have the one hundred millions in gold to pay the European balances, and would compel all domestic balances to be paid in silver. The Montsaulnins were very largely interested in American se-

curities, and were very much frightened, and after the departure of His Excellency told me that they must sell out all American securities.

May 4. There was a financial panic in New York. The Cordage Company and the Waterburys have failed, and everything is tumbling head-over-heels. I think matters are worse than they have been since 1872. To-day I presented my letters of recall to President Carnot, and thanked him for his kindness to me personally, and for the friendliness with which the United States Government had been treated during the past year. He was very complimentary. I dined today at Mrs. Bell's, who had a reception afterwards. I saw there a certain General de B——, who, I was told, had had the kindness to fight five duels on account of his wife. A woman, learned in palmistry, read my character from my hand, but it was poorly done, and evidently mere guesswork.

May 9. The drought, which had lasted for two months, with most beautiful weather, was broken to-day by heavy rains. There is much political trouble in Germany, the Emperor having to dissolve the Chambers, because they would not pass the Army Bill. It is thought that the new elections will be no better than the last. In the meantime the German army is not strong enough, when compared to the French or the Russian.

May 10. At the Bering Sea controversy to hear Sir Charles Russell pitch into the Americans, whose arguments he described as mere cant, their only desire being to monopolize the sealskins, and sell them at a large profit. He has evidently been a jury lawyer. We were at a beautiful dinner given us by Mrs. ——. There were thirty at table. Afterwards Clément, of the Opéra Comique, and Mrs. Austin Lee sang and Malcolm played on the piano.

May 12. A superb day. We drove, with some American friends who invited us, to the Maison Laffitte. I believe that the coach belongs to Gordon Bennett. It was driven by Mr. Higgins. Horses, coach, and appointments were excellent. We breakfasted in a pretty little French country inn, and reached home at five in the afternoon.

May 13. There was a fancy ball given by old Madame de la Ferronnays. This was done for some charitable purpose, but as masks were allowed, ladies were afraid to go, and it resulted, I believe, in complete failure. The Luxembourg has bought one of Harrison's sea views.

May 15. We were at the Opera to see "Die Walküre." Opposite to us, in the President's box, sat a small dark man about fifty years of age, who looked every inch a soldier. He was received and treated by everybody with great attention. This turned out to be the celebrated General Dodds, who succeeded, amidst the greatest difficulties, in the war which the French have been carrying on, on the northwest coast of Africa. He was, I think, born in Senegal, and he looked as if he might have some native blood. He appears to have had the good sense not to mix in politics. Mrs. Sears and Mrs. Jay went to the Théâtre d'Application to see a new piece by the Count de Castellane. All the fashion of Paris were there.

May 18. Dined at the celebrated Madame de Pourtalès's. She has reigned in French society since the time of Madame de Metternich and Napoleon III. I sat on her left, next to the Countess de B——, who had on the other side Carolus Duran, who seemed to be as good a conversationalist as he is painter. There were present a very ugly and most agreeable Count du Lay, Madame de Courval, Count and Countess Jocourt, Prince and Princess Wagram (*née* Rothschild), and others. I

went afterwards to a very crowded reception at Develle's, the Minister of Foreign Affairs; thence to a ball at Mrs. Moore's. This was distinguished by more beauty than I have seen before in Paris. It is a mistake to think that all French women surpass the world in good manners and elegance. You have the same differences here that you find in all countries. The wives of the middle class, many of whom rise to eminence by the merit of their husbands, are often shy, badly dressed, prim and awkward in the company of men; but the fashionable class is not surpassed in elegance by any women in the world, and hardly equalled by any, except the best Americans.

May 20. I handed to Jay the badge of an officer of the Legion of Honour. I had some difficulty in getting the President to grant it, as Mr. Jay's position entitled him only to the cordon of chevalier. The President refused at first, but I think did it out of kindness to me. I was at a beautiful afternoon tea at Mr. Hitroff's. He has a superb apartment, filled with objects of art. The fashionable set, Rochefoucaulds, Ferronnays, De Sagans, Dufferins, Talleyrands, Jocourts, and Pontevès, were all there. But what amused me was to see the Prince de Sagan and the Princess, who have been separated for years, and have nothing to do with one another, in the same room.

May 23. I was again struck by the style, dress, and beauty of French society at a party given by the Duc de Gramont. The principal reason, I think, is the fairness and stoutness of the necks, there being no young girls present with scraggy outlines and unformed manners. Every neck is covered with superb jewels, pearls being, I think, the favourite ornament.

May 27. We sailed for the United States in the "Bourgogne."

After a foggy but calm passage we reached New York June fourth. I found great distress in Wall Street, and money not to be had on good collaterals. This went on from bad to worse until June twenty-sixth, when the Boston banks were obliged to issue clearing-house certificates. The India mints suspended the coinage of the rupee, silver having fallen to sixty-nine cents the ounce, which makes the silver dollar worth only fifty-four and one-half cents. July first, President Cleveland called Congress together for August sixth, to consider the financial troubles.

In the meantime, all securities continued to fall. General Electric, which had reached thirty-one, was only saved from failure by the large stockholders furnishing four millions, taking securities worth more in ordinary times. Many of the mills have shut down. Hoarding of gold is going on all over the country. The President sent a message to Congress, August eighth, advising the stopping of the purchase of silver under the Sherman Act. This was a manly action, nine-tenths of the Democratic party being for free silver; but the state of the country opened the eyes of a few of them, and the bill was repealed after a severe struggle in the Senate, where it passed toward the end of October.

In September I went with my family to see the great exposition at Chicago. I had just returned from Europe, where I had visited Rome as well as Paris, and I was delighted at the infinite taste and the magnificence displayed at Chicago. The Court of Honour was unsurpassed and I think as beautiful as any architectural attempt of ancient or modern times. It would be useless to try to describe what has been done over and over again by all the newspaper writers of the United States.

This autumn the Republicans had an overwhelming victory; the tariff and financial policy of the party in power had nearly ruined the country in a year, and a strong reaction was inevitable. In New York State, a certain Judge Maynard, who was supposed to have made improper use of his position to alter the votes at the last election, was put up by Tammany for a judgeship in the Court of Appeals, but the people rose in their indignation and he was defeated by a majority of eighty thousand votes. I suppose Tammany had made use of fraudulent voting so often that it had got to consider it a small matter, and misjudged entirely the common feelings of mankind in trying to place on the highest bench of the State a man of tarnished reputation. The Democrats no doubt voted for him because he was on the ticket; but the State is nearly evenly divided, and whilst many stayed at home rather than vote, it roused those people who usually pay no attention to politics and brought them to the polls.

Business affairs continued bad and three Boston railroads, the Atchison, the Union Pacific, and the New York and New England, were in the hands of receivers. When they were taken out the management was transferred to New York, whose immense wealth is gradually absorbing the whole country.

We had built a railroad from Cartagena to the Magdalena River in the State of Colombia. This had been a most disastrous enterprise and much more money was wanted to complete the road. In the tropics building is most difficult. During the dry season the bed of the road becomes as hard as stone, and will resist a pickaxe; but during the torrential downpours of August and September it disappears entirely like a sea of liquid mud. The absence of stone made it impos-

sible to ballast the bed or to build suitable bridges except at immense expense; besides, the population was accustomed to donkeys and to taking the merchandise from the interior down the river to Barranquilla, and did not approve of a road which shortened the distance and went to Cartagena, one of the most superb harbours in the world. It occurred to me that I should improve my health by a sea voyage, and also form a better judgment of our enterprise by a personal examination.

1894

I sailed therefore in the spring of 1894 by steamer to Jamaica, where I spent some days. I had taken letters from Sir Julian Pauncefote, which insured me a most hospitable reception from the governor, and I visited different parts of the island, where, strange to say, I found good inns. The roads, built by the English, are large and smooth, the climate, when I was there, neither too hot nor too cold, the scenery tropical in its luxuriousness. But the curse of the tropics is upon it. The inhabitants, largely mulattoes or negroes, are fat and happy, and entirely unfit for self-government, which the mother country tries to let them have, but never relaxes the veto power. The white people and their children suffer from malarial fever. The beet-root has destroyed the sugar-cane, and the plantations are mostly in coffee — a lovely flowering shrub. But the planters were sighing for England. The only really flourishing industry was the exportation of bananas to the United States. This was carried on by an American company, which sent out from Port Antonio two or three fast steamers a week. The whole thing had been started in a very small way by a Cape Cod Captain L——, who came down in a small schooner to buy fruit.

The only really happy inhabitant is the mongoose. Originally introduced to kill snakes, it has increased enormously, fattened on all the reptiles and then on all the eggs of birds, so that the island is overrun with ticks which were formerly kept down by the bipeds. In some places you could not walk a few steps in the grass without being covered with them. Their bite is disagreeable, as they bury their heads in the flesh and refuse to come out even if you take the body. The island is naturally a dependence of the United States, though I am thankful that the English have the bother and expense of it. It has a magnificent harbour to the south, capable, I am told, of holding the whole British navy, and which is one of the many coaling stations that England keeps all over the navigable oceans to give her fleets the control of the water.

From Jamaica I went to the Isthmus, crossed over in the railroad to Panama, and through the kindness of the officials made a rapid examination of the Panama Canal. Much more had been done than I expected, and although it had in certain spots filled up so that our tug, drawing four feet, could not pass, a great deal of it — I should think one-third of the distance — was practically finished. But of course the most expensive part of the work remained to be done. The great artificial lake, which is the only means of taking care of the floods of the Chagres River, was in its infancy. It will have to be reached by three locks, I believe, on both sides.

On the Pacific the water is shoal, and much money will have to be spent in keeping the necessary depth to the ocean. But still I think it is much cheaper to finish it than to build one at Nicaragua, which will, I suppose, cost three times its estimate and be very long. If we were to own the canal, of

course the Nicaragua is the only one we could protect by sending troops through Mexico, because England would take possession of the Caribbean Sea and the Bay of Panama. But if the canal is to be kept, by all the nations of the earth, neutral and open to all men-of-war during hostilities, the Panama Canal would suit us just as well. Besides, we can guess at the cost of finishing the one at Aspinwall, but not the Nicaragua. The unhealthiness of Colon, I think, like most towns in the tropics, is very much determined by the habits of the white people. The white man who drinks dies, and they all drink. The climate has an enervating effect and it is hard not to touch any stimulant. From Colon we went to Cartagena in a splendid five-thousand-ton English steamer. This line left England for Jamaica and thence to Colon and Colombia and back, but the latter part of the route seemed to me unprofitable. The harbour of Cartagena is seven miles long with a deep entrance and deep water everywhere; you find forty feet close to the wharves. Besides a strong northeast trade wind blows perpetually and cools the atmosphere. The town is a picturesque old Spanish city surrounded with walls twenty feet thick and moats, built probably to keep off the buccaneers. Fortunately I did not have to trust to a Spanish inn, but took up my quarters at the house of the manager of the road. This consisted of one room partitioned off into many sleeping rooms and parlours, but the partitions were not more than ten or twelve feet high, leaving the trade wind to blow through every part of the house. The roof, made of leaves of palms, was a foot or two thick and I believe lasts without repairs fifty years. But its age has its disadvantages, as scorpions and centipedes and poisonous snakes soon take a liking to it and fall down from it on your dining-table or your

bed. I often found a piece of cloth tightly fastened in a slanting position over the bed so as to shoot these amiable visitors on to the floor when they fell. The temperature was between eighty and ninety degrees, for the line of greatest heat passes through Colombia, and I am told that the trip to Bogotá, which is made on the Magdalena River, is often intolerable. Nothing can exceed the beauty of this river. I had hardly ever heard of it and yet it is as large as the Nile at Cairo, flowing with a rapid current through forests of beautiful trees covered with vines and orchids. Crocodiles and monkeys were very numerous. The inhabitants appeared to be negroes, although the soldiers who were sent from farther south were much smaller and lighter in colour, indicating a cross of the Spanish and Indian races. In the towns were German and English merchants with the descendants of the Spanish more or less crossed. The country is, like all the others, in a perpetual revolution, and consequently the currency varies from two hundred to five hundred per cent depreciation. The wages of the peons continue, however, to be paid in it without much rise, whilst the coffee, which is the principal export, sells for gold for what the competition of other countries makes it worth. In other words, a paper currency enriches a few and keeps the multitude on the verge of starvation. Whether the Anglo-Saxon race would be able to make much of these superb Spanish equatorial republics, I don't know; but I think the Spaniard bears the heat as well or better than we do, and that we should soon sink to the *far niente* condition in which we find our friends. Bogotá is seven or eight thousand feet above the ocean and the climate milder, but the journey takes from ten to fourteen days. I rode on horseback from Cartagena to the river, some fifty miles. There

were little signs of prosperity, but I noticed a great many superb cattle; sometimes they filled, at night, the streets of the village. Hens and chickens appeared to prosper. I saw no signs of agriculture or manufacturing.

On my return I stopped at Limón, partly because I had heard of its extreme unhealthiness and partly because I wanted to go up by railroad to San José, the capital of Costa Rica. The town lies very low on the shore and has large swamps behind it where bananas flourish in immense quantities. As there is no drainage I have no doubt that the mortality is great; but the doctor assured me he had lived fifteen years in New Orleans and that he considered the latter place more liable to yellow fever. He admitted that all the employees of the railroad who drank died. There was a leper hospital of which he had charge and he said it had more syphilis than leprosy. The place was vile. We slept in a nasty inn to take the train very early in the morning, and had a long and beautiful ride up the mountain to San José, a lovely old Spanish town up some four thousand feet. They were introducing electric tramways, electric lights, and plumbing, and trying to make a picturesque town comfortable. "*Quien sabe?*" Coffee is the principal export and the quality very fine. I met one of my colleagues on the Pan-American Congress, who was as charming as they all are; but elections were coming on and I do not know whether the powers that were succeeded in reseizing the government or if some new man took it *vi et armis*. The South American and Central American countries are oligarchies, where a few important families dispute for power, most of the inhabitants being Indians more or less crossed, who make good soldiers and don't care much on which side they conquer. We went back to Limón, to find our steamer

full of bananas and ready to sail as rapidly as she could for New York, touching at Jamaica for mails.

June 25. Sadi Carnot, the President of the French Republic, was murdered at Lyons by an Italian named Caserio Santo. He was stabbed at half-past nine at night and lingered until two the next morning. I sent a telegram of sympathy to Madame Carnot. I knew the late President well. He was a man of high integrity and common sense and filled the office to the satisfaction of all parties. Unfortunately the constitution gives the President so little power that he is unable to restrain the turbulent factions which spring up daily in France. With us the appointing power vested in the President gives the Executive so much influence that the government is carried on in comparative safety by the legislative, the judicial, and the executive offices, each one checking and controlling the other. The great danger is the arrogation by the Senate of the powers of the Executive. If they succeed in making the appointments by vetoing those of the President, they will acquire so much power as to endanger the country. This they have several times attempted to do; but fortunately the sense of the nation is against them, and the President has usually been able to control so large a part of the Senate as to prevent a combination of the Republican and Democratic senators. To check this evil there has grown up of late a strong desire to elect the senators by popular suffrage instead of by the legislatures of the States, which they can generally control. This would make it more difficult for the senators to acquire what is vulgarly called the Boss power, which makes them, by controlling all the offices in their respective States, petty sovereigns whom it is almost impossible to get rid of. They control the machine and the machine controls the pri-

maries which, although not attended by the general public, decide on the policy of the State. We are too busy to do our duty in the primary meetings, and even when the respectable citizens attempt it they are met by an organized phalanx whilst they have no system or head. The great danger to the country is the growing power of the Senate. Tammany has ruled New York and plundered it for years by controlling the liquor saloons where the voters congregate. A book called, I believe, "Peter Stirling" had an immense sale and was, in fact, a glorification of the bar-room, which it describes as the club of the poor man, and of Bossism. These are really the two great curses of the American nation.

July. The want of prosperity in the country leads to a bad state of affairs both in politics and business. A very dangerous strike on the Pullman cars threatens to stop all business in Chicago. It is beginning to come East and has reached the Lake Shore. A fellow named Debs, who appears to be the head, publishes the most inflammatory proclamations, and there is much bloodshed, destruction of property, and generally mob law. President Cleveland has come out with a proclamation against the strikers, and he is fortunately ably seconded by Olney, the Attorney General. It is rather a singular fact that although all the other railroads centering in Chicago have had trouble caused by their employees deserting them for the strikers, not a man has left his place on the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy system. This is, no doubt, owing to the firmness with which we resisted and overcame the great engineers' strike in 1888. The new men who came in then to take the place of the strikers know that, if they left, their places would be filled at once by the old hands, who have been desirous to return ever since they lost their situations by misconduct.

July 25 *and* 26. The corn crop in Nebraska and Iowa was blighted by scorching winds. This is a very serious calamity and will delay the return to more prosperous times.

August 30. I lunched with a man named Smythe, who is at the head of the best mill in the South — I believe on the Alleghany foot-hills in South Carolina. He owns the whole country, has ample houses for the operatives, sees to the schooling of the children, and really regulates the expenditures and the taxes. The employees in the mills are all white, belonging to that class of Scotch-Irish and Highlanders who stood by us in the Civil War. They have never had an opportunity of earning money and a dollar looks very large. Besides, food such as they are accustomed to — chicken, hog, and hominy — is very cheap, and the climate mild in winter. They receive about thirty per cent less than our operatives in New Hampshire, whilst coal and cotton are cheaper. This competition must injure New England excessively, and the only prospect of relief is that the profits of cotton manufacturing at the South are so enormous that a vast number of mills will be erected and the increased demand for labour will have a tendency to put up wages. Against that there are a million of able-bodied and intelligent men in the Alleghanies, which stretch nearly a thousand miles through North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama, to supply the demand for labour.

September 2. We had another of those curious yellow days caused by the smoke from Wisconsin fires drifting all over New England. It was, however, not so weird as the dark day of 1881.

In the fall elections there is a complete overthrow of the Democrats all over the country. We shall have a majority in

the House of at least one hundred and twenty-eight in the next Congress. This is due to the continued hard times and the imbecility of the Democratic party. Money is lower than I have ever known it, the Amoskeag borrowing three hundred thousand dollars for seven months at two and one-fourth per cent. Cotton sells for six cents and wheat for sixty cents.

The President and Secretary of the Treasury have come out with what I consider a very crude policy for the improvement of the finances. Cleveland wants good money, but has too little knowledge and experience to be able to judge of so difficult a matter. Congress adjourned over the holidays without passing any financial bills. The new fifty-million loan fell flat although taken by Morgan, Hatch, and others, because Carlisle's financial theory was to order the banks within six months to withdraw their bonds pledged for circulation from the Government and replace them with greenbacks at the rate of thirty per cent to one hundred per cent circulation. This absurd proposition would have thrown two hundred and forty millions of bonds on the market to compete with the newly issued fifty millions.

1895

January. The Government has only sixty millions of gold, of which only about twelve are in coin, and nearly ten millions were exported this week. In other words, they are on the verge of bankruptcy, and still Congress refuses to issue a gold bond which would be taken at once in Europe. I received a letter from Senator Lodge saying that the majority of the Senate were for free silver and nothing could be done.

February. On the sixth I went to Washington to see if I

could be of any use. The weather became intensely cold; on the ninth and tenth the cars were snowed in; south of Washington and all Florida was laid waste even down to the Indian River. Orange trees and pineapples were killed. The thermometer in Washington ranged from zero to twelve above and the snow was driven through my bedroom window at the Arlington and lay unmelted on the sill. I saw a great many leading men, and at Senator Cameron's had a terrible talk with that veteran free silverite, Jones of Nevada. The President made a coin loan at last at four per cent for thirty years at three and three-fourths per cent; of course a gold bond would have gone for three per cent, but Congress was recalcitrant and the animosity of both the Republicans and Democrats against Cleveland is tremendous.

Lord Dufferin sent me his book, a memoir of his mother, the Countess of Gifford. It is extremely well done and some of the poetry fine enough to last as classic. It is evident that the extraordinary ability of his lordship comes from the mother, who belonged to that brilliant Sheridan blood.

April. I went with Newbold and many New Yorkers to Chicago to examine the West Side Elevated Railroad; from there Newbold and I pushed on with a special Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy car to Omaha, where I saw Senator Manderson, and to Lincoln; thence we went to Kansas City over the Fort Scott to Memphis to see the new bridge over the Mississippi, to Birmingham, Atlanta, and Boston. The country looked well; Illinois, Iowa, and Nebraska a fortnight ahead and people cheerful; but the railroads were carrying no freight, and all the West and South are for free silver.

June. Cleveland made an excellent appointment for Secretary of State — Richard Olney. On Commencement Day

I attended the exercises at Harvard College, when C. F. Adams, Judge Holmes, Joe Jefferson, and the celebrated Mahan received honorary degrees.

December 17. The President issued a most violent and undignified message to Congress on the Venezuela Boundary question and threatened war with England. This was received with enthusiasm by Congress and all over the United States.

December 18. I wrote to Senator Hoar begging him to try to calm Congress, and pointing out that the President went beyond the Monroe Doctrine. The situation is critical; but if we can gain time before the Senate acts on the request of the President authorizing him to appoint a commission to judge of England's territory, all may come right. There was, of course, a panic in stocks and Cleveland sent a message to Congress asking them to help him get gold. He seemed to forget that he had by his jingo anti-English message injured the credit of the country. I am beginning to think that he is brave but stupid. England, however, behaved with great coolness. She had no idea of being involved in war by intemperate language on our part. She agreed to arbitrate, and got by the decision of the tribunal the oyster, leaving Venezuela the shell. In other words, she was accorded the auriferous land about which the contention had sprung up and Venezuela received the mouth of the Orinoco, which she could not maintain against an English fleet a moment. The English delegates voted for the award.

1896

March 2. The effect of the cutting down of trees in the White Mountains was again exemplified by a tremendous freshet in

the Merrimac. The water rose fifteen and a half inches higher than in last year's freshet, carried away all the bridges, depriving the whole mill of steam, and damaged all cotton and stores which could not be removed from a low level; this cost us one hundred thousand dollars.

March. The Turkish Government, taking offence at the Armenian resolutions passed by Congress, have recalled their minister, Mavroyeni Bey. We have insulted England, Spain, and Turkey by jingoistic resolves; I suppose without the intention of doing harm but for political effect in the coming presidential election at home.

April. On the twenty-ninth I left for another excursion out West, going to Washington, Burlington, and the Black Hills, thence to Sheridan. The next day we examined the battlefield where Custer and his men were killed — victims of over-confidence in defying Sitting Bull with too few troops. We went to Billings, slept at Butte, thence to Utah and Salt Lake and over the divide to Leadville and Chicago, where we gave up our car, No. 200, after seventeen charming days. Dr. Shattuck and Newbold and myself had gone together. All through the West we had evidences of repeated tornadoes. On our return to Lincoln we saw a line of loaded cars and a church turned over and broken to pieces by a tornado, which occurred the day after we left. On our way to Sheridan we saw a cloud-burst, with lightning in the Black Hills, which swept away a bridge we had crossed three hours before. Every day the telegraph brought accounts of some disaster, and the greatest of all was to follow.

May. On the twenty-sixth St. Louis was struck, some eight hundred people killed, and many of the finest blocks of stores destroyed. The Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy lost their

round-house, their freight house, and the upper story of their elevator at East St. Louis, and the roof of their new station at St. Louis was blown off. My son Jeff, who was travelling with Mr. Clark, the president of the Union Pacific, arrived in St. Louis only a few hours after the storm had struck. All day they had been appalled by the appearance of the skies whilst running through Missouri, and towards evening they reached the neighbourhood of St. Louis, where fallen poles, overthrown cottages, and electric wires blocked the road; but by the use of assisting engines and workmen they got to St. Louis at one in the morning. The tornado occurred about six in the afternoon.

July 1. Governor Wolcott decided to appoint a commission to take into consideration the taxes of the State, and to suggest any remedy they might think wise against the steady growth and unequal collection of state and municipal taxes.

Governor Wolcott appointed Judge John Lowell as chairman, Professor Taussig, Carleton, Alvan Barrus, and myself as a committee. Judge Dunbar succeeded to Judge Lowell on the decease of the latter. Our labours lasted many months; we held twenty-three public meetings and some thirty where we asked various experts to give us the benefit of their experience. The difficulty of the subject of taxation lies, unfortunately, deeper than any commission can reach. It hangs on the fact that in a republic the expenses are incurred by a vote of the people, represented in the towns by the selectmen, in the cities by the common council or aldermen; but the people who pay for those expenses are in a small minority and have no influence in checking the extravagance of the majority, who feel that they do not have to pay for the expenditures

they order. The consequence is that the indebtedness goes on increasing, and the taxes become more and more unbearable to the minority who pay them. The inhabitants of the United States — if you include the taxes levied by the Federal Government, the States, and the municipal bodies — are the heaviest-taxed people in the world, and of all the States I think Massachusetts is one of the most severely taxed, owing to the valuation of property being higher in proportion to its value than usual.

James A. Roberts was for five years Comptroller of the great State of New York. He was in office from January 1, 1894, to January 1, 1899. In his reports he points out the enormous and continual increase of taxation caused by a policy of state and city socialism. In 1881 the amount expended by the State was $9,878,000. In 1896 it had risen to $20,020,000. The municipal debts of our Union increased from $100,000,000 to $682,000,000, and in fifteen cities believed to represent the average, the increase in taxation was 362.2 per cent, while the increase in taxable valuation was but 156.9 per cent, and of population 70 per cent. Is it any wonder that he declared that if "we have not yet passed the danger limit of taxation we have reached a point where there is a deep feeling of unrest and dissatisfaction and where a halt should be called or there will be danger"?* No changes in the method of taxation can cure this evil, because, if by wiser means a greater sum could be raised without more hardship, it would have a tendency to cause greater expenditures. In this same article the trouble is attributed, I think justly, to the growth of a socialistic feeling. The number of commissions and departments is, Roberts

* "*Appleton's Popular Science Monthly*" *of April*, 1900.

thinks, the cause of the increase of expenditures, and they are largely for extending social supervision and regulation over many things which in the earlier days of our commonwealth were left to the localities or to self-regulation. The system of "laissez-faire," he says, which was the rallying cry of democracy and free government at the beginning of the century, has yielded gradually to a system of supervision and control which monarchies never attempted. Many of these commissions are made to relieve a political situation, not to benefit the public.

I was struck at once by the fact that most of the people who appeared before us consisted of two classes: first, the assessors, and secondly, benevolent people who thought they had discovered a way through taxation of relieving misery. The only idea of the assessors was not to diminish the burden on the community, but to find some means of increasing it by finding more objects to tax, or taxing what they found twice and sometimes three times over; the other side, in which must be included the single tax system of George, considered that by one way or another they could get the money without oppressing anybody. The followers of George expected that a tax on real estate alone, without including buildings, would relieve all the burdens of the State and put an end to poverty and crime. How they expected to get from a part more than the whole could produce, I do not know. This problem is one that has caused the ruin of all republics from Athens to Rome, and the Italian republics of the Middle Ages: the poor with the power of the ballot against the rich with the power of money. It has generally ended by the destruction of the wealthy classes and the enslavement under a dictator of the poor. But the world has never seen so intelligent and

comparatively wealthy a mass of citizens as we have in the United States, and the gradual education of the people may delay or perhaps find a means of escaping from the dangers to which history points.

Our report was handed to the Governor and Council, October 7, 1897. It was quite long, beginning with a description of the present taxes; secondly, the working of those taxes; thirdly, our recommendations. We advised: (1) An inheritance tax of five per cent on personal and real property. (2) Abolition of all taxes on intangible property. (3) An income tax to be collected on house rentals of over four hundred per annum. (4) All taxes on corporations to be kept by the State. (5) County taxes to be paid by the State. (6) Proceeds of inheritance tax to be divided to the towns, half per population and half per valuation.

For the reasons of these suggestions I must refer to the report itself, as it would take too much time to go into them. I think the report able and wise and it will do good as an educator, although it will not be passed by the General Court. As a volume of reference to those interested in the subject I think it will have a permanent value. Professor Taussig wrote it and the bill on inheritance taxes was drawn by Judge James R. Dunbar. It was signed by all but one member. I will now revert to my Journal.

July 9. The Democratic Convention at Chicago was ruled by the Populists and the silver men. Whitney and Governor W. E. Russell pleaded in vain against what they thought the ruin of their party and their fondest hopes. Bryan of Nebraska, an indefatigable orator, was nominated for President. During the campaign great anxiety existed through the coun-

try; thousands of people were thrown out of employment; mills shut down; railroads lost business; the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy sold down to fifty-seven and one-half, etc. *November* 3. We were relieved by the election of McKinley. He had 7,101,401 votes against 6,470,656 for Bryan and free silver; an unpleasantly narrow escape.

Boston was a good deal disturbed by a struggle for power in the West End Railroad, which controls all the surface electric lines of the city. Many very respectable people attempted to prevent its being leased to the Elevated Road. This caused much bitterness, and unnecessary personal attacks were made from which I did not come off scot-free, as I strongly favoured the movement, which was carried by two to one in the final struggle.

1897

January 20. Charles H. Dalton, General Stephen M. Weld, and Governor P. C. Cheney went to Canton and urged on the future President my appointment as Secretary of the Treasury. They did not succeed, although the New England senators came out in my favour. I do not regret the loss of the place, for the labour is excessive and the responsibility very great; but I feel deeply touched that three such men, all leaders in the Republican party of Massachusetts, should think me worthy of the place and should start off in the midst of winter on so fatiguing a journey. The President selected Mr. Gage of Chicago. Massachusetts had already a member of the Cabinet in Mr. Long, Secretary of the Navy.

During January there was much jingoism in the Senate about Cuba, and this feeling continued to grow owing to the

atrocities of the Spaniards in their attempt to put down the rebellion in the island. One of the last acts of ex-President Cleveland was the vetoing of Senator Lodge's Immigration Bill. He took the ground that the dangerous immigrants were the educated fanatics, the ignorant making good citizens. He might have added that they always voted the Democratic ticket.

April 7. I went down the harbour on the trial trip of the battleship "Iowa." She made seventeen knots an hour and gets two hundred thousand dollars more for extra speed. She is about eleven thousand tons, with eleven thousand horse-power. Her armament consists of two twelve-inch guns in a turret, four eight-inch, two in a turret each side, and many rapid four-inch guns. In strength of armour and guns she is a match for the largest fourteen-thousand-ton English battleships, but they are faster and carry more coal. The "Iowa" can take but sixteen hundred tons, stowed so as to protect the engines and boilers. The ventilation was wonderful: after four hours' excessive draught the thermometer stood at eighty-nine degrees in the engine room and the air was perfectly fresh. She is really merely a steel box full of machinery which cost three and one-half millions and was nearly three years building. Commodore Dewey was on board as chairman of the Inspecting Board. In a year he was to immortalize himself.

May 31. This was celebrated as Memorial Day and was distinguished by the dedication of St. Gaudens' statue of Colonel Robert G. Shaw, which faces the State House. Many troops, including the New York Seventh Regiment, were present. Governor Wolcott presided with his usual dignity.

July 19. The House passed the Tariff Bill as it came from the

conference committee. It is too high, particularly on wool and woollen goods; but these things, I am sorry to say, are fixed more by political necessities than by judgment. A very high tariff naturally leads to attacks and later to strong reaction. Contrary to the expectations of its opponents, it provided revenue enough and was accompanied by much prosperity. Silver reached the lowest point yet, fifty-nine and three-eighths, which makes the silver dollar worth intrinsically less than forty-six cents.

In October I was in New York, where there was the greatest excitement. The city had just been enlarged into Greater New York, which represented three millions of people and seventy-five millions to be raised yearly by taxation. The struggle was between the respectable classes, who had nominated Seth Low, and Tammany thirsting for the plunder of the city. But Senator Platt was supposed to have made a bargain by which Tammany was to yield him their influence in the Albany House, and he was to let them have the control of New York. Whether this was true or not, Platt acted as if it was. He came out against Low and with the consent and assistance of President McKinley and of my friend Bliss, the Secretary of the Interior, they divided the Republican party by putting up Tracy to run against Low. I knew Tracy and never before had an unfavourable opinion of him, but I believe he was more or less dependent on Platt; as for Bliss, a perfectly honest man, he was carried away by his strong party feeling and looked askance on Low as having been put up by the Independents. They accomplished their purpose. Tammany elected their ticket and seized a control of the huge city, which it will be next to impossible to take from them once their organization is perfected. Platt got his wishes in

Albany. The President, I consider, was led astray; but he has from the beginning yielded to Bossism as exercised by the senators in their various States, taking, I suppose, warning from Harrison, whose sturdy conscientiousness cost him the enmity of the Senate and perhaps the chance of reëlection.

In the autumn I suffered much from what proved to be stone, and to that I attribute my ill health since 1893. I had a severe attack of fever and passed a month or two with my children at the South, as far as Palm Beach and at a little inn called Peacock's at the extremity of Florida. Peacock, an Englishman, had settled there on account of his health twenty-five years ago. The southeast trades keep the summer as cool as the winter. There is a rainy season from June to August and they suffer from mosquitoes, but only for a very short time. They had not been visited by a single hurricane, which I do not understand, as these storms generally turn from northwest to northeast over the Bahamas and the coast of Florida. Thermometer in winter about seventy-five degrees. Upon the whole, I am inclined to think that the best climate in the United States is at its extreme southeast and northwest, say the end of Florida and Oregon and Washington, the only places where trade winds exist. I found St. Augustine had hardly improved since I was there ten years ago. It consists of the Ponce de Leon — *præterea nihil.*

1898

War with Spain ensued soon after the blowing up of the battleship "Maine" in Havana harbour, February fifteenth. It was considered universally that she had been blown up by a torpedo from outside, and this act was attributed to the ha-

tred of the Spanish officers for the United States. Although after careful examination there remains no doubt in the minds of all the naval authorities I have met that the crime was wilfully committed by means of a torpedo placed and fixed by unknown persons, I cannot suppose that the Spanish Government was foolish enough to have had a part in the affair, for the result could only be war. I think Spain would have yielded to any demands we made, would have given a constitution to the island, apologized and paid for the "Maine," and punished the officials who had exploded the torpedo; but the feeling in the United States, already excited by Weyler's atrocities in the war, needed only a spark to burst into flame. On April thirteenth the Committee on Foreign Affairs, both in the House and Senate, reported resolutions calling on the President to interfere by the Army and Navy to make Cuba independent. The minority report (composed of Democrats) went further and asked for the recognition of the bands of cut-throats under Gomez and the Cuban Junta. These gentlemen, if the Spanish troops had been withdrawn, would have looted the towns and murdered the industrious and civilized classes. The President signed the resolutions which directed him to intervene at once to stop the war in Cuba for the purpose of establishing by the free action of the people a stable and independent government of their own. He was empowered to use all the land and naval forces of the United States. I am not writing history and shall only say that, all unprepared as we were, Dewey at Manila on May first and Sampson off Santiago July fourth, destroyed the Spanish fleets and we found ourselves with Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines on our hands. The future alone can tell whether those countries can be governed without becoming Territo-

ries and States of the United States. If they cannot, no greater misfortune could happen to this country than incorporating the savages of tropical islands in our body politic. Man in the tropics can never rise; he is enervated by the climate, which makes steady toil impossible and unnecessary, for food is to be had for the picking and clothing is not wanted. The Southern negro question is bad enough without taking in the negroes and savages of Cuba and Luzon.

On July nineteenth I received a telegram from the President appointing me on the Joint High Commission to settle difficulties between the United States and Canada. I did not at first accept, but went on to Washington to meet the Commission. It consisted of Senator Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana; Senator Gray of Delaware; Nelson Dingley, the Chairman of the Ways and Means in the House; John W. Foster, ex-Secretary of State; John A. Kasson, ex-minister to Austria. We met the commissioners appointed by England and Canada in Quebec towards the end of August. The celebrated Chancellor, Lord Herschell, was made Chairman, and with him sat Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada; Sir Richard Cartwright; Sir Louis Davies; John Charleton; Sir James Winter, Prime Minister of Newfoundland. Senator Gray went to the Peace Conference in Paris, and Senator C. J. Faulkner of West Virginia took his place. This was truly an eminent body of men, but the subjects at issue were numerous and most difficult. I can say nothing of the details of this conference, which lasted until February 20, 1899, in Washington, when we nominally adjourned without coming to any conclusion on any one of the subjects. As the matter may be reopened, my lips are sealed. We lost by death the two most distinguished members of the Commission, Lord

Herschell and Nelson Dingley. I think I can say that in my judgment — and I sat a quiet looker-on at the struggles which took place daily — the Americans were in every respect equal in ability to their honourable opponents and much more willing to yield in minor matters. The most important questions were the Alaskan boundary, which was the cause of the Conference breaking up, Lord Herschell being unwilling to agree to the settlement of any of the other questions — the fisheries, the destruction of the seals, the armament of the lakes, and transportation of goods in bond through Canada — unless we yielded in the boundary question. I was on the committees of the Atlantic Fisheries and the Transit in Bond.

We were treated with great hospitality by Lord and Lady Aberdeen, who came to Quebec and opened the citadel to receive us. The English sent also three men-of-war under Admiral Sir John Fisher in the first-class battleship "Renown," who gave us a ball and dined us in the most hearty sailor-like fashion. We left for Washington with the most important questions in abeyance, and although we did not agree we endeavoured by profuse hospitality to repay the favours we had received in Canada. The President, Vice-President, and Secretary of State entertained the commissioners and all Washington united in a brilliant series of dinners. Nelson Dingley died of typhoid in the midst of it. I had, although at first prejudiced, the greatest regard for him. A simple, old-fashioned Puritan, who took his pleasures with sorrow, but was always most conscientiously desirous of doing his duty to God and all mankind, he was to my surprise willing to yield his views on reciprocity much more than I had expected. His memory was extraordinary; he could recall al-

most every bill that related in any way to the tariff that had ever been before the House. He surprised me by agreeing that in some points, such as wool and woollens, the Dingley Tariff was too high, but he said he did what he could to prevent it. The House had such complete confidence in him that he could have passed any measure necessary for the settlement of Canadian troubles. Lord Herschell died later, a lawyer of infinite ability and industry, and an agreeable conversationalist, but always a lawyer and not a diplomat. At the breaking up of the Joint High Commission I called on Secretary Hay and the President to pay my respects before leaving Washington. I wished particularly to impress on the Secretary that it would be unwise to call us together as soon as August next, to which time we had adjourned.

1899

March 9. The Massachusetts Historical Society had its first meeting in its new building on the Fenway. It is large and handsome. I said a few words about Lord Herschell, who had died of heart disease the end of February.

March 20. I dined at Governor Wolcott's to meet General Miles. John Ropes was of the party and the two men talked of the Civil War, in which they seem to hold similar feelings. They considered that Grant was no strategist. He could have taken in the beginning without losing a man the position which he was obliged to take after the campaign of the Wilderness. It was the same McClellan had occupied. He lost seventy thousand men unnecessarily. John Ropes considered Grant more indifferent to life than the great Napoleon. Napoleon sacrificed men for a purpose, Grant without pur-

pose. His only idea, and that was a good one under wise management, was to go on fighting, fighting. Lee, after the campaign of the Wilderness, had such a contempt for Grant that he despatched a whole corps to take Washington. It was some days before Grant found it out. He was very much frightened and hurried the Sixth Corps as hard as possible by water to Washington. They rushed through the city and seized the fortifications which ought to have been in the hands of the Confederates two days before. But Stonewall Jackson was dead and Early had allowed himself to be delayed on the way and arrived too late. Stonewall Jackson would have captured Washington two days before the Sixth Corps arrived and this would probably have given peace and independence to the South. General Miles and Ropes considered Jackson the greatest strategist this country ever produced. They think if he had not been killed the South would have gained its independence at Gettysburg. If he had been there he would have pushed on before the Union army arrived and taken the hills afterwards occupied by the American forces. Meade would have been compelled to attack him in his own fortified position because he was threatening Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. Thus the fatal attack by the Confederates across an open plain to reach the troops of Meade would not have occurred, and a probable victory for the Southern army would have followed an attack on Lee. General Miles went on to say that in the last war he was ordered to take seventy thousand men to Havana and land them. Of course his duty was to obey, but before starting he went to see the President. He told him the men were splendid and all willing to go, that the want of uniforms was nothing, but all the powder in the country was only sixty-four rounds to a

man. The President asked him if that was not enough. He said it was for half an hour. He was not sent.

May. On the twentieth Alger resigned his post as Secretary of War. The country had gone to war entirely unprepared and the Secretary was made the scapegoat when the blame ought, of course, to have rested on the great American Republic, which was carried away by anger without regard to the condition of the army, the commissariat, the hospitals, and even the ammunition. The President appointed an excellent man, Elihu Root, in his place.

The quarrel over the Alaskan boundary goes on. The matter will have to be settled by England without regard to Canada. If the Russian Treaty of 1825 means anything, it is clear that the English contention that they have a right to salt water is without any foundation. By leaving it to arbitration they have nothing to lose and may gain something. But the arbitration they propose is one like the famous Halifax arbitration, where they owned the third man, Delfosse, and got an award for losses to the fisheries of more than all the fisheries were worth. The Americans feel that the English, owing to their superior influence at European courts and their greater means of knowing the character and ideas of the names proposed, have an unfair advantage in the choice of an arbitrator, who would in reality be selected by them. All we want is a perfectly unbiased tribunal, and probably the best way to get that would be in a court of six judges, three American and three English, the majority to decide. The objection to this plan is, of course, that no decision might be reached.

August. On Tuesday, the eighth, a hurricane devastated Porto Rico and passed over Santo Domingo and Nassau. In 1867

six thousand people are said to have lost their lives in the island of Porto Rico. This last storm seems to have been almost as bad, as some three or four thousand people were drowned or killed by falling walls and trees, and one hundred thousand left destitute. Food is being sent by our Government and appeals for assistance have been made to all the large cities. In another hurricane Guadeloupe lost four hundred lives and five millions of property. Truly, living in the West Indies must be rendered uncomfortable.

October. On the fifth the Bank of England, after going up from three and one-half to four and one-half, went to five per cent; the reserve having fallen from forty-eight per cent to thirty-nine per cent. All this indicates war. Many steamers have been taken by the English Government out of the Cunard and other lines to carry mules and provisions of war to the Cape. On the twelfth war was begun by the Boers and the Orange Free State, who have invaded Natal. They felt that their only chance was to strike before England had accumulated sufficient forces to conquer them. England must succeed in the long run, but it is a case of might against right. The plea is that they did not treat the Uitlanders liberally enough; but what nation would ever allow another to dictate its laws about suffrage? The United States goes much farther and forbids the Chinese to enter at all. Had no gold been discovered the Boers would have been left in their rude independence.

During this month the "Columbia" beat the "Shamrock" for the third time, so the international cup remains another year with us. I have been reading Madame de la Ferronnays' "Memoirs." I knew her in her old age in Paris. The book is amusing, being filled with witty and doubtful stories.

The most striking thing is the incompetency of the Duc de Chambord, grandson of Charles X. He had three opportunities of becoming King of France, which he missed by his own folly. His imitation court at Frohsdorf and Venice, to which M. and Madame de la Ferronnays were attached, was farcical in the extreme. The worthy man took himself "au grand sérieux."

On the thirtieth took place the funeral of my old friend John Ropes. Fortunately, his last volume on the Civil War was about finished last summer when I stayed with him at York Harbor. His accurate knowledge of the position of the various corps at the different battles was so great that he could often correct the commanders who were in the action. It was due to him and the society he founded that Fitz John Porter was at last proved innocent and pardoned. He was looked upon as the authority in the military history of 1861 to 1865, and wrote also on Waterloo and Napoleon. His opinion given above on Stonewall Jackson and Grant must, therefore, command careful consideration.

November 30. The newspapers to-day contain the statement that Professor Loeb, working at Woods Holl Laboratory, has succeeded in making the eggs of sea-urchins that had never been impregnated produce protei. This was done by mixing magnesium chloride in the salt water where they were kept. If this is true, the inferences are endless. Darwin's theories are surpassed. A germ might acquire life by a casual chemical contact and all the life on the globe might grow out of it. The next effort will be to experiment on Mammalia. But I still doubt the fact.

During December the English were repeatedly beaten by the Boers, Generals Gatacre, Methuen, and Buller being all

repulsed with heavy loss. This caused so much anxiety that Lord F. S. Roberts of Kandahar was ordered to take command, and he has as chief of staff the celebrated Lord Kitchener, the conqueror of the Soudan. They will soon have two hundred thousand men in Africa and the fate of the Boers with thirty thousand can only be a matter of delay, expense, and loss of life.

1900

Joubert, the greatest leader of the Boers, died March 27, 1900, and the tide of war turns steadily in favour of the most numerous battalions.

I have always had some doubt as to whether the immense technical knowledge displayed in Shakespeare's works did not prove that they were not written by an uneducated man such as he was, and if he did not write them Bacon was the most likely to have done so, as he almost alone of his contemporaries possessed the requisite knowledge. I had read many pieces on the subject, not omitting John Fiske's violent attack on the fools who advocated the Baconian theory, and remained unconvinced. I went this January to hear a lecture on this subject by a Mr. Prescott at the St. Botolph Club. It appears, according to him, that the same cipher exists in Shakespeare's plays, Burton's "Anatomy," Spenser's "Faery Queen," and Marlowe's and Greene's plays. It is very complicated, five or six letters being required to make one: thus *a* was *aaaaa*, *b abaaa*, and all other letters were made by the transposition of *a* and *b*. There were also certain leading words, such as *honour*, etc., *do*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, *sol*. To read the cipher the 1623 edition of Shakespeare had to be spread on a re-

volving drum. The whole matter was pushed *ad absurdum*. Bacon must have written Burton's "Anatomy," Spenser's and Marlowe's works, as well as Shakespeare's. I came away a sadder but I hope a wiser man.

March 14. The President signed the Financial Bill. This recognizes the gold standard, makes our future bonds payable in gold, our greenbacks exchangeable for gold, and will allay the fever which has lasted so many years on the silver question. We can never be thrown into repudiation by the act of the President or the Secretary of the Treasury, who had the right to pay off any United States obligation in silver if he saw fit to do so. To change this bill will require a majority in the House and in the Senate and a Democratic President. These things are not likely to happen for many years. We had to allow a large expansion of the Bank Currency, I suppose, to get support for the bill. But this is only a temporary evil, which the growth of the country will soon remedy. In the meantime the efforts of the banks to buy United States two per cent bonds, against which to issue circulation, have put up some of the United States issues, which they have to purchase to obtain the two per cents, until they sell at only a little over a one per cent interest. I do not understand that the Treasury is bound to pay gold for silver, but as there is not more silver afloat than the country requires it will be carried, as our subsidiary currency is carried, without difficulty.

November, 1900.

Postscript

MR. COOLIDGE ended his Autobiography in the year 1900 with a note on the financial policy of the National Government. From that time and until his death he lived in Boston and Manchester, keenly interested in what was passing before him in Massachusetts and the Nation, but without taking an active part in public affairs. The course of financial and industrial events had always occupied his mind, and his experience and qualities of mind made him a good judge of future changes and a safe adviser to others. Retaining his place in certain financial institutions of Boston, and proving his usefulness in their direction, he was not satisfied with what existed, but planned wider fields of operation. His son, bearing his name, also recognized a possible need in the East of another banking institution on the trust principle, and coöperated with his father in establishing the Old Colony Trust Company, soon to become one of the most influential trust corporations in Massachusetts, with close affiliations with certain of the great organizations of New York. So complete was this coöperation that it would be difficult to decide whether the father or the son had been most instrumental in calling into being the new company.

The trained experience of the father guided the first years of the Old Colony Trust Company and proved a happy government of the more venturesome plans of the son. Working together, and with colleagues who rapidly recognized the value of such close coöperation, the two minds were largely instrumental in carrying the institution

through its first years of existence and placing it upon the solid foundations of safe management and public trust. The business world of Boston is, after all, but small, compared to the business world of New York or of Philadelphia; but in a few lines the word of Boston is as final as can be expected. With its textile industries, its heavy investments in some of the largest public utilities, and in Western undertakings, the money power of Boston makes itself felt in a wide range. Mr. Coolidge understood this field and measured accurately its extent and permanent features. In directing and developing these economic forces he found congenial occupation. As the years passed, he rested more and more upon his son, aiding in advice, but looking to him for the study of detail and the active participation demanded in the performance.

Another interest was mutual and constituted a close tie between the two, an interest in their ancestor Thomas Jefferson. When the Jefferson papers were sold to the United States Government in 1849, it was stipulated that the private papers should remain in the family. A great-granddaughter, Sarah Nicholas Randolph, included a selection from them in a volume entitled "The Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson," published in 1871. By the death of Thomas Jefferson Randolph in 1875 the papers passed into the possession of Miss Randolph. They were several times offered to the Government, in order that the papers of the third President might form one collection, but the conditions prevailing at the time prevented a purchase. On the death of Miss Randolph they were held by her sister, Carolina Ramsay Randolph, and from her Mr. Coolidge purchased the larger part, and in June, 1898, presented what he had purchased to the Massachusetts Historical Society. Certain

pictures and pieces of furniture from Monticello were also obtained by him, notably the revolving writing table of the great Virginian, with its curiously shaped drawers, carefully lettered for filing. Both father and son had that reasonable pride of ancestry that encourages the preservation of heirlooms and even the imitation of ancestral surroundings. This was shown when the principal features of Monticello were reproduced in the son's residence in Magnolia. Following his father's example, the son, in one of his visits to Virginia, found a large number of architectural studies and drawings by Jefferson and acquired them for the growing Jefferson collection in their keeping. This discovery of new and neglected material promised to illustrate a side of Jefferson as yet but darkly known, as well as to contribute much to the knowledge of Virginia architecture of that time. With this tendency to secure whatever Jefferson relics might be offered, two such collectors might have gone far.

Unfortunately the tie was broken by the death of Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, Jr. He was born in Boston, March 16, 1863, and had prepared for college at Noble's School. Entering Harvard University, he graduated in 1884, *magna cum laude*, having given special attention to history. He had been president of the class during the entire college course. On graduating he passed a year in a journey around the world and on his return studied government and law in a graduate course at Harvard University, thus preparing himself for his future occupation as banker. By 1887 he was absorbed in the financial world, becoming president of the Old Colony Trust Company in 1890, and later chairman of the Board of Directors. The absorption was not entire, for he early showed bookish tastes and found congenial companionship

in the Club of Odd Volumes of Boston, a gathering of collectors and writers, and incidentally interested in the encouragement of fine printing. Mr. Coolidge's collection was modest in size and had not advanced so far as to be distinctive in any single line; but he bought liberally and judiciously, laying the foundation of a future specialized collection. Never strong physically, his devotion to his business and the constant anxiety attending it preyed upon his health, and after an illness of several years he died at Magnolia on April 14, 1912. A most fitting memorial of one and perhaps the most compelling of his interests is the volume "Thomas Jefferson, Architect," printed by Mrs. Coolidge in 1916, and containing the original studies and designs by Jefferson in Mr. Coolidge's possession. For the first time it became possible to comprehend Jefferson's tastes and skill in architecture, and so happily associated with the name of his descendant who had saved the drawings from possible loss or injury.

The death of the son was a great blow to the father, so destructive was it to all the hopes he had held for his future. He really never recovered from the stroke. A growing deafness restricted his social enjoyments and finally isolated him almost completely. His days were passed in quiet occupations, for he gradually laid upon others his many business interests. He died at Boston, November 17, 1920.

In speaking of Mr. Coolidge and his career Mr. John T. Morse, Jr., gave the following summary:

"The story of his life is a story of practically uninterrupted success, a record not unique, of course, but very unusual. This was chiefly due to the union of keen vision in practical affairs with sound judgment in all affairs. His

mistakes were few and almost never important. Only once he came near to a serious peril in taking charge of the Atchison Railroad, but he escaped unhurt, and that he did so escape was due to his just appreciation of the incompatibility between the office and his own schemes — perhaps also in part to shrewd business foresight. He certainly had great opportunities, yet not greater than some of his contemporaries who accomplished much less than he did. Opportunities of themselves achieve nothing, any more than a pen and paper write a book, or a big voice makes an orator. Mr. Coolidge clearly understood these opportunities, understood his own qualities of mind and character, understood the situation in which he found himself among his fellow citizens both up-town and down-town, understood what life in New England had to offer. It was this intuitive and correct perception, combined with an active disposition and an enterprising spirit, that won for him a career which may fairly be called brilliant. His achievements were all his own. It is true that his own position and his family connections naturally brought him valuable alliances in business; also that he had able coadjutors and subordinates, who, however, were well selected by the exercise of his own insight. But the permanently operating and dominating brain power and will power were his. No man, who begins life early and ends it late, can ride through the long procession of years to enduring triumph upon the shoulders of others. Good fortune saved him from being what we call a self-made man, but he had powers which would have made him one, had he been born in a different stratum.

"One important thing remains to be said for his memory. In respect of the moralities of the business world he was

always and wholly without reproach; and this means much for those of us who are old enough to remember the wild, reckless, unprincipled scrambling for wealth, which prevailed among those who were conducting business after the Civil War. Large fortunes rapidly acquired were numerous; unspotted reputations were deplorably scarce. Even worthy men, who fully meant to do right, sometimes lost their way in the fogs which obscured ethical perceptions, and were pained to find themselves the objects of criticisms which, to their chagrin, they found it difficult to answer. Amid the rush and the confusion, Mr. Coolidge never went astray, and the chief reason was that he did not content himself with obeying the rules of the technical code of mere mercantile honesty, but preferred rather to carry down-town with him the honorable spirit of a gentleman for daily use in rooms where it did not habitually intrude. The result was that not so much as even a mark of interrogation was ever set against any act of his. For this reason we have the high pleasure of recording our 'Tribute' without finding ourselves obliged tactfully to suppress, or explain away, or apologize for any single incident in his long, crowded and active life."

The Appendix

THE REPORT OF MR. COOLIDGE, A DELEGATE FROM THE UNITED STATES

BY an act of the Congress of the United States, May 24, 1888, the President was authorized to arrange a conference between the United States of America and the Republics of Mexico, Central and South America, Hayti, San Domingo, and the Empire of Brazil, and he was requested, in forwarding the invitations to the said governments, to set forth that the conference was called to consider certain specific subjects. Among these, the sixth in number, is "the adoption of a common silver coin to be issued by each Government, the same to be legal tender in all commercial transactions between the citizens of all the American States."

The issue of a coin which would pass as a legal tender in all the States of South America, Central America, and the United States would be a great assistance in facilitating commerce between the two countries, and would, to a certain extent, place the exchanges between the different nations in the condition which exists between one State of the United States and another. A merchant would be able to draw on New York from Rio Janeiro or Buenos Ayres with the same facility with which a merchant now draws on New York from San Francisco. The invoices would all be made in the international currency, and as it is proposed that the currency should be a legal tender everywhere, there would be no variation in the exchange, except to the small extent which the cost of transportation of the coin from one State to another to settle balances might cause.

Nothing is said in the statement of the sixth subject of conference about the amount which each nation should coin, but it was probably assumed that any agreement which might be reached would be determined either by the population of the respective States, or by their comparative commerce. But as the amounts required for an international currency would be very

large and would require several years to coin, it may for the present be assumed that the coinage would be practically unlimited the first years. The Latin Union coined from 1866 to 1876 about $15.50 per inhabitant, of which $10 was in gold. If we assume that we should require only $5 per head of silver coinage in ten years, it would take $600,000,000. As the yearly product of silver in the Americas in 1887 was $112,000,000, we may consider that for the first years the coinage would be limited only by the power of the mints and the supply of the metal, as it would require $60,000,000 a year to coin as much silver per inhabitant as the Latin Union coined, leaving out their gold coinage.

It would seem at first that commercial countries should require much more coin per capita for business purposes than agricultural ones, but their need of coin is limited by their greater use of checks, clearing-houses, bills of exchange, and the transference of bank deposits, and like instrumentalities for economizing the use of specie.* In countries unprovided with such agencies transactions are made more frequently by exchange of the coin itself, and sometimes coin is hoarded for investment. An extreme example of this is agricultural India, which absorbed from 1853 to 1885, inclusive, $1,300,000,000 of silver in addition to the enormous and unknown amount already held there.

As the language of the act of Congress mentions "a silver coin only," it is not proposed to take into consideration the coinage of gold, but only that of silver. If found practicable, a monetary treaty might be adopted somewhat similar to the Latin Union entered into December 23, 1865, between France, Belgium, Italy, and Switzerland, leaving out the gold coinage. In the third article of that union the contracting nations bound themselves not to coin, or permit to be coined, silver pieces of 5 francs except of a given weight, standard, tolerance, and diameter. The contracting parties agreed to receive the above pieces at par, unless reduced 1 per cent by wear, or unless the devices

* *The United States have in circulation, etc., of gold, silver, and paper about $26 per head.*

were worn off. In article 4 of the same treaty they agreed to the weight and fineness of small pieces of silver of 2 francs and under. These pieces were to be recoined by their respective governments when reduced by wear, and were only to be a legal tender to the sum of 50 francs between the individuals in the State in which they were issued, but the nation issuing them was to receive them in any amount. They also agreed to coin subsidiary pieces only to the extent of 6 francs for each inhabitant. The total silver coinage of the Latin Union under that agreement, excluding a subsidiary coinage, was, from 1865 to 1877:

France	625,000,000 francs
Italy	355,000,000 francs
Belgium	350,000,000 francs
Switzerland (about)	8,000,000 francs
Total	1,338,000,000 francs

When the treaty was made, December, 1865, the ratio of silver to gold was 15.44, or about $15\frac{1}{2}$, which was the ratio of the coinage; but the ratio fell gradually, until in 1872 it was 15.64; in 1873, 15.93; in 1874, 16.16; in 1875, 16.63; in 1876, 17.48. The effect of this was to cause a greatly increased flow of silver to the mints, because the money brokers received for $15\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of silver an ounce of gold, and they could buy with that ounce of gold 16 ounces of silver, leaving a profit of one-half an ounce of silver. Before the fall of silver was noticeable, in 1871–1872, only 5,000,000 francs of silver bullion were offered to the mint in France, but in 1873 154,000,000 were offered; and in Belgium, 111,000,000, against 33,000,000 in 1872. This led to a meeting of the delegates at Paris in January, 1874. At this meeting and at others, which were held annually, it was agreed that the silver coinage should be limited to 140,000,000 francs for 1874, 150,000,000 for 1875, and 108,000,000 for 1876. The total of these three years was limited at 398,000,000. Each state coined its share except Switzerland. In 1877 and 1878 all the States of the Latin Union, by agreement, ceased to coin the 5-

franc piece, standard silver, as they found that, as the value of silver in proportion to gold continued to decline, a further issue of silver at $15\frac{1}{2}$ would take from them all their gold. I have gone into these details because they may shed much light on the question before us, and may teach us how to avoid the difficulties which proved fatal to the Latin Union.

The first point to be taken up seems to me to be the question of making the proposed silver coin a legal tender through all the countries uniting in the treaty. The coin would circulate without being a legal tender if it were received for Government dues, and the mere fact of its being a legal tender would not prevent it from depreciating; for during civil war in the United States, although the greenback was a legal tender, it fell very much in value, and in the French Revolution the *assignats*, which were based on real estate and were legal tenders, became worthless.

It is probable that difficulties might arise in the effort to establish a coin which would be struck at the mints of various nations, and which would become, by force of treaty, an obligatory legal tender between individuals in each of these countries in their financial dealings with one another. Questions of constitutional law might arise which would naturally cause delays and uncertainties, and would, therefore, tend to discredit a measure meant to be beneficent in its application. It is certainly undesirable to court such obstacles, particularly if there does not appear any necessity for so doing.

The agreement of a government to receive a dollar at a certain valuation in payment of public dues is simple and easy of fulfilment.

The legal tender clause might be thought a very dangerous innovation for another reason: The coinage of each State would have to be regulated in amount and would have to be of a certain weight and fineness of metal. Now, with all the safeguards that could be put around the mints, although trustworthy people were employed to supervise the quantity and quality of coins of all the mints wherever situated, still human nature is

fallible, and the temptation might be so great as to cause an inferior coin to be issued or a greater quantity to be put forth than was agreed upon. We will suppose, for the sake of illustration, that it was decided to coin a legal-tender dollar similar in weight and fineness to the dollar of the United States, which is now worth about 72 to 74 cents. It will at once be seen that there would be a profit to the nation furnishing the silver to the amount of 25 cents on the dollar, or 33 per cent for every dollar coined. This enormous profit involves great danger of attempts by individuals or States to put upon the market indefinite quantities of coins exactly similar and of equal value, which would be indistinguishable from the others, and which, as soon as issued, would, as obligatory legal tenders, be receivable for a dollar in all the Americas, when they only cost 75 cents. In case of a rebellion or revolution in one of the contracting countries, two governments might be set up. Each government would naturally claim for itself the right of coinage, and vast amounts of coin might be issued by either of them at an immense profit, and it would be impossible to distinguish between the coins and refuse to accept them without throwing discredit upon the whole system of coinage in all the countries. I can not but think that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to devise adequate guaranties against this peril.

But even if the quality of the compulsory legal tender were given up, I think the international coin would pass at its face value if the several Governments agreed to receive it for all taxes and custom-house dues to the Government in their respective territories. And such is the credit of the United States that I think it probable that the issue of even more than $100,000,000 might be maintained at their par value, as our present silver dollar is maintained. That question I do not propose to argue, because opinions upon it are very conflicting, and nothing but experience can teach us to what extent we may go in the issue of coin to be current at more than its bullion value. But, of course, the increase of such silver coinage would add to the load which

at the present time presses on the United States, and which, if carried to excess, would, in the belief of many of our most experienced financiers, necessarily result in a premium on gold and the establishment of silver monometallism. It might also be a question whether any of the contracting states would consider it wise to allow silver coins to be put out on which there was a profit of 25 to 33 per cent to the nations coining them, whereas the loss inherent on their falling below their face value might all come on one or two of the contracting states. In their present issue of silver the United States makes the whole profit and takes the risk of the depreciation of the coin. In the proposed international plan a large part of the coinage would be made by other nations, who would thus make the profit between the face value of the dollar and its bullion value, whereas the United States would bind itself to receive it at its face value for all dues whatever its market value might be. We must reflect that the international coins would not necessarily remain in the state for which they were issued, but would flow to those countries where they were of most value. In any state where an irredeemable paper existed, or where the legal tender was for some reason or other worth in bullion less than the silver dollar which it is proposed to coin, it would be a profit to export the silver and draw bills against it, with which the exporter could buy a greater value of legal tender than the silver would represent. The tendency, therefore, of the new coin would be to leave the countries where the currency was depreciated and make its way gradually to the stronger and richer countries.

Another question is whether the issue of silver coin worth, say, 75 cents, could be used by the North in the purchase of the various articles of commerce produced in the South to advantage, or by the South in purchasing the manufactures of the North, without regard to the standard of gold existing throughout the whole civilized world. We must not forget that the commerce of the world has adjusted itself, rightly or wrongly, to a single standard, and that that standard is at the present time a

given weight of gold. Monometallism, bimetallism, and trimetallism may be the rule in particular countries. Gold coin of different weight and fineness may be a legal tender, or silver coin may be a limited or full legal tender; and even when a full tender may, through a restriction in the coinage, be kept at a par with gold as a token. Even copper may be and is a legal tender in some countries. In other countries inconvertible paper may circulate. The various countries in which these different systems prevail exchange product for product with each other, but in order to settle their exchanges a uniform standard is of necessity established, and that standard has become a given weight of gold, without regard to acts of legal tender, without any treaty stipulations, and without regard to the coinage acts of any one country. The merchant will purchase his goods where he can do it to the best advantage; in other words, where they are cheapest, taking into consideration the freight and the credit which he is given on them. Would, then, the merchants of South America come to the United States and be enabled, through the issue of this coin, to purchase merchandise in the United States to better advantage than they could in Europe?

Suppose that a bale of dry goods was of the same value in New York as in London. The South American trader would have received the silver dollar not at the value of bullion, but at the face value of the coin. The profit would have been made by the nation coining it. If he had a certain amount of these dollars in New York, it would be just as easy for him to deposit them in a bank and draw bills of exchange against them for gold in London as to use them for the purchase of merchandise in the United States. In his transactions, therefore, he would not be guided by the existence of the international coin, but entirely by the cost of goods, the freight, and the credit he would receive from the various bankers. In other words, trade depends upon supply and demand, and would go on in the same way and on the same principles as if the proposed coinage did not exist. It has been suggested that there would be a profit to the American

importer of coffee if he could pay for the coffee which he buys in South America with this 75-cent international dollar; but the same principle would apply. If the credit of the United States kept the dollar at par with gold, the profit of the coinage would go to the United States and not to the merchant. It would cost him as much as the gold dollar, and when he attempted to make purchases of hides or coffee he would find that the articles cost him as much whether he paid for them in the international coin or in bills of exchange on England. But it may be said that he would save the commission he pays the banker. If he did not require any credit to do his business he might save paying a banker's commission, but if he required that credit he would have to pay for it whether it was done in New York or in England. And as much the largest amount of the trade of the Central and South American States would continue to be done with England, France, Germany, and Italy, the exchanges would continue to be settled in pounds sterling. If, from any cause, the international dollar should fall in value below its face, nothing could compel the South American merchant to receive it at its face value, and if he was obliged to do so by law or custom he would simply charge more for his merchandise than if he expected to be paid in gold.

If, however, it became profitable to the American trader to use the new coin for making purchases in the United States, either because he could save a banker's commission, or buy his goods cheaper, or make a profit in drawing gold bills on England against the deposit of silver coin in New York, the international coin would gradually come to the United States. There it would accumulate in the banks. It could not be exported, because Europe would only receive it at its bullion value. The only use the banks would have for it would be in the payment of public dues. Now, it is well known that by a tacit understanding the banks of New York and some other centres of commerce do not use the silver certificate or the silver dollar in their clearing-houses, but that the transactions are carried on entirely in a gold cur-

rency. Whenever they receive, as they are obliged to do, silver certificates on deposit, they send them down to the custom-house and get rid of them to people who desire to pay dues to the Government. As yet their accumulation has not been sufficient to make it difficult to get rid of them in that way, but every increase of silver coinage worth less than its face in bullion would make the position of the banks more difficult, and tends to reduce the gold received by the United States Government on imports to the full extent of the whole coinage. Now, it is on that gold that the Government relies to pay the interest on its public debt and to redeem its legal tenders. If, from any circumstances, such as the accumulation of silver coinage or a heavy adverse balance of trade, the Government should find itself without the necessary gold to meet its gold demands, or even if the public should fancy that there was danger of such a difficulty coming about, we should have a premium on gold at once, together with a monometallism of silver and a disturbance of all trade and all property in the country.

But the friends of the measure may say that all these difficulties might be avoided by the coinage of an international currency if we should give up the point of the obligatory legal tender and make coins to contain their face value in bullion. There would then, it is said, be no danger of depreciation, and the coinage would make a demand for silver, which seems to be much desired. This suggestion, however, introduces a new difficulty. Unfortunately, the value of silver is varying every day. If we should attempt to coin the international dollar at its gold value, with silver at 46*d.* to the ounce in England, it might fall to 42*d.*, when it would no longer represent its face value; or, should the increased demand for the arts and the gradual and extraordinary growth of this country make the demand for silver larger than the supply, silver would rise from 46*d.* to 48*d.* or 50*d.* to the ounce. The consequence would be that all these silver international coins would be of more value as bullion than as a commercial token, and would be melted up and disap-

pear from the country, and you would have to issue a new and different system of coinage. Besides, it would be very undesirable for any nation to have silver dollars in circulation which were of different bullion value and still receivable for Government dues. In case, therefore, the United States coined a 100-cent dollar as an international coin, it would find itself with two totally different dollars, which would greatly tend to complication and commercial difficulties, and perhaps to recoinage of one or the other issue.

Besides, the present silver dollar is inconveniently large, and to increase its bulk would make it intolerable. But, to quote the words of Secretary Windom in his report, the paramount objection to this plan is that it would have a decided tendency to prevent a rise in the value of silver. Seizing it at its present low price, the law would in effect decree that it must remain there forever, so far as its uses for coinage are concerned.

It has been suggested that instead of an international coin the mints of the various countries should be allowed to put the international stamp on a certain weight of silver of a fixed degree of fineness, and that such silver should merely be used at its bullion value as merchandise, without being received for Government dues, in transactions between one nation and another. This would really only be settling the exchanges between the various nations in silver bullion, and the stamp would merely save the buyer the trouble of weighing and refining the silver to make sure that it was bullion of the proper degree of weight and fineness. It would vary in value continually, and I can see but very little use for such bullion. It would not greatly increase or facilitate the commerce between the different nations, as it is not likely that the exchanges would be settled by silver bullion except in very small quantities. In fact, however, the exchanges between the United States and South America are settled almost entirely by sales of merchandise in Europe. The United States imports $110,000,000 more from the South American States than it sells to them, but that is paid by shipping

merchandise to England and not by exporting silver bullion. As the balance of trade between the United States and all the countries of the world has, in recent years, been in its favour, the balance, which has usually been small, has been settled in gold. If we succeed by opening steamer routes and by giving long credits and better banking facilities, and by making such goods as they desire, in increasing our trade with our southern friends, the settlement will still be made much in the same way, with the difference only that a part of the merchandise which we now ship to Europe would be shipped to them.

For the above reasons I am of the opinion that we can not safely issue an international coin of silver, whether a legal tender or not, and whether the coin is greater than or only equal to its bullion value. There is one way which, perhaps, might give a useful and a common currency to all the American nations without the dangers and difficulties which have been pointed out. That is, by taking advantage of the suggestions made in the admirable report of Secretary Windom. He suggests the issuing of Treasury notes against deposits of silver bullion at its gold market value. These notes are to be received for all public dues in the United States. If they were received equally for all dues in Mexico and the states of Central and South America, those states could send us their silver and receive in pay these notes, and they would have an international currency based, first of all, on the gold value of the silver bullion, and secondly, on the credit of the United States of America.

It is no doubt well known to the committee that the policy of promoting the general restoration of silver to its former legal equality with gold was inaugurated by the United States, through the act of Congress calling the International Monetary Conference, held in Paris in 1878; and that measures have been taken since that date in the various countries interested which betoken the world-wide importance of the question so raised. It is in connection with this policy that the new suggestions of the Secretary of the Treasury are made, and as a result of their

adoption by Congress an important rise of the value of silver relatively to gold is expected to ensue. That the other American states will share in the benefits of this rise is plain.

In case of the adoption of these bullion notes, instead of a varying silver coin we should have a note whose value would not vary; a note, the issue of which would be surrounded by all possible checks to secure safety. These notes could be issued in any sums required for international currency. Their transportation would cost nothing more than the expense of the mails, and their quantity would be limited by the demand, as they could at any moment be reconverted into silver bullion at the gold value.

This seems to me to accomplish all the purposes which were desired by the coinage of an international silver dollar, and I suggest, therefore, that the Conference recommend to their respective governments that when the Congress of the United States shall have authorized the issue of Treasury notes against silver bullion at its gold value, that these certificates be received in all the respective countries of all the Americas for all dues to Government, provided that the Congress of the United States be requested, if it have not already done so, to allow the importation of silver from all the countries of the Americas who agree to receive the Treasury notes of the United States for Government dues.

T. Jefferson Coolidge.

January 11, 1890.

Index

Index

Abbadie, Antoine Thomson d', 196.
Abbott, ——, 188.
Abd-el-Kader, 215.
Aberdeen, *see* Gordon.
Aberdeen, Ishbel Maria Majoribanks, Lady, 267.
About, Edmond François Valentin, 38.
Academy of Science, 44.
Adams, Brooks, 180.
Adams, Charles Francis, 13, 51; on English experience, 71.
Adams, Charles Francis, receives degree, 256.
"Advance," incident on, 105.
Agassiz, Jean Louis Rodolphe, 29; glacier studies, 4; Friday Club, 13; on Huxley-Owen dispute, 27; suspended life, 38; Academy of Science, 44; goes to Brazil, 50.
Agnostics, 87.
Aiken, William, of South Carolina, 19.
Alaska, boundary, 268, 271.
Alcock, ——, at Pau, 60.
Aldrich, Nelson Wilmarth, 140.
Alfonso, José, 123, 128.
Alger, Russell Alexander, 271.
"Alice," rescue of crew, 89.
Allison, William Boyd, 135.
Alvary, ——, 232.
Ambassadors, American, 146, 221, 222.
America, not known in France, 54.
American Art Association, 220.
Amory, Charles Walter, 105.
Amory, William, 13, 29, 76, 80; goes to Washington, 19, 30; Charleston, 25; death, 104.
Amoskeag Mills, 82, 124, 132; taxes, 103; fly-wheel bursts, 139.
Anderson, Adna, 47.
Anderson, Robert, moves to Fort Sumter, 20; relief fails, 20; capitulates, 25.
Andrew, John Albion, 20; reëlected, 34.
Anglesey, Minni (King | Wodehouse), Lady, 159.
Antigua, W. I., 107.
Appleton, Hetty Sullivan (Mrs. Coolidge), 9.
Appleton, Mary Ann (Cutler), death of, 18.
Appleton, Nathan, 9, 74; death, 29; religious belief, 87.
Appleton, Samuel, 9.
Appleton, William, 9, 11, 16, 105; in Congress, 18, 26, 34; visits Charleston, 25; death, 37.
Aragón, Manuel, 128.
Aramon, Comte d', 158.
Arbitration, in Pan-American conference, 129; Halifax, 271.
Arco, ——, Count, 172.
Arles, Roman Amphitheatre, 89.
Arlington, D.C., visited, 31.
Armstrong School, Virginia, 105.
Army worm, 29.
Asquith, Herbert Henry, 239.
Atchison Railroad, 85, 87, 88; president, 88.
Athene, statue of, 54.
Audubon, John James, cast of head, 37.
Aumale, Henri Eugène Philippe Louis d'Orléans, duc de, 215, 221.
Aunay, Madame d', 214.
Aurora borealis, 15.
Ayer, Mrs., 152, 226, 235, 238.

Bache, Alexander Dallas, 44.
Baden-Baden, gaming, 60.
Baily, Godard, 20.
Baker, Edward Dickinson, at Ball's Bluff, 33.
Ball, Thomas, statue of Washington, 46.
Ballet, Paris, 177.
Balloon, military, 239.
Ball's Bluff, battle, 33.
Baltimore, Massachusetts regiment attacked, 25.
Banks, Nathaniel Prentiss, 20, 40.
Barbey, Edouard Polydore Isaac, 232.
Barbier, Paul Jules, 183.
Bardoux, Agénor, 231.
Barings, financial troubles, 137, 138.
Barnacles, 113.
Barrus, Alvan, 258.
Bartet, Jeanne Julia Regnault, dite, 224, 227.

Bartlett, Sidney, 30, 105; character, 12; death, 120.
Bartlett, William F., 33.
Bastile, celebration, 169.
Batcheller, George Sherman, 223.
Bayard, Thomas Francis, 131, 133, 234.
Bayley, John, 23, 76.
Baylies, Edmund Lincoln, 9.
Bazaars at Cairo, 90.
Beal, Thomas Prince, 105, 140.
Beale, Truxton, 184.
Beauharnais, Eugénie Hortense de, 64.
Beecher, Henry Ward, trial of, 79.
Bell, Mrs., 241.
Belmont, Mrs., 94, 97.
Bennett, James Gordon, 242.
Bering Sea tribunal, *see* Seal.
Bernhardt, Rosine Bernard, dite Sara, 219.
Berr, Georges, 227.
Bertrand, Alexandre, 183.
Bertrand, Joseph Louis François, 196.
"Bessie-Camac," wreck of, 97.
Bigelow, George Tyler, 14, 46.
Birmingham, Alabama, 100.
Bissell, ——, 198.
Blackwood, Frederick Temple Hamilton-Temple, Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, 152, 162, 206, 221, 232, 236, 238; dinner, 144; garden party, 150; Liberian matter, 167; Courcel and, 179; portrait, 227; book, 255.
Blaine, Harriet Bailey (Stanwood), 203.
Blaine, James Gillespie, 132, 136; pan-American plan, 120, 130; described, 132; defeated, 204; death, 215.
Blake, John Ellis, treats Marian for poison, 81.
Bliss, Cornelius Newton, 124, 264.
Bliss, William Wallace Smith, 28.
Blochman, ——, of Dresden, 5.
Blois, hotel at, 178.
Blowitz, Henri Georges Stephan Adolphe de, 206.
Boer war, 272, 273.
Bogotá, visited, 249.
Boissier, Marie Louis Gaston, 183, 189.
Bonaparte, Louis, 64.
Bonaparte, Marie Pauline, Princesse Borghese, 150.
Booth, John Wilkes, 50.
Boott Mills, 12.
Borbón, María Eulalia de, 198, 232.
Borius, Madame, 194, 195.
Borius, General, 201.
Borup, Henry Dana, indiscretion, 159, 163, 173, 238.
Boss, in politics, 251.
Bossange, Hector, 52.
Boston, anniversary of settlement, 16; attack on armory, 43; fire, 77; West End railroad, 262.
Bourgeois, Léon Victor Auguste, 162, 183, 203, 226.
Bowdoin Square, Boston, 2.
Bradley, William Harrison, 219.
Brancaccio, Elizabeth (Hickson-Field), Princess, 158, 159, 216.
Brandès, Martha Joséphine Brunschwig, dite, 232.
Bressant, Jean Baptiste François, 214.
Bréteuil, M. de, 239.
Briquet, ——, of Plainpalais, 3, 55.
Brisson, Eugène Henri, 192.
Bristow, Benjamin Helm, 203.
Brohan, Augustine Suzanne, 214.
Brohan, Emilie Madeleine (Madame Mario Uchard), 214.
Brohan, Josephine Félicité Augustine, 214.
Brooks, John Graham, 190, 191.
Brooks, Phillips, 105; preaching of, 80; on honor, 80.
Brooks, —— (Shepherd), 43.
Broughton, *see* Hobhouse.
Brown, John, Harper's Ferry raid, 16.
Brugsch, Heinrich Karl, 97.
Bryan, William Jennings, 261.
Buchanan, James, on eve of secession, 20.
Bugs in England, 51.
Bull Run, battle of, 29.
Buller, Sir Redvers Henry, 273.
Burdeau, Auguste Laurent, 194, 203.
Burgess, Benjamin, 76.
Burlingame, Anson, defeated, 18.
Burnside, Ambrose Everett, 30, 41.
Burr, Aaron, Talleyrand and, 54.
Burroughs, H. Bryson, 189.
Bussière, Madame de, 212.
Bussière, Alfred Renouard, baron de, 212.
Butler, Benjamin Franklin, 42; defeated, 86.
Butler, Frances Kemble, 59.
Butler, Matthew Calbraith, 131.
Byron, George Gordon, lord, 53.

C, Mrs., salon, 52.
Cable, Atlantic, laid, 15.
Cabot, Samuel, captain, Boston riot, 43.
Cabot, ——, 221.
Cacao in Trinidad, 114.
Cairo, Egypt, 90.
Calculator, lightning, 188.
Calderón, Climaco, 132.
Calvé, Emma, 193.
Cameron, Mrs. J. Don, 136.
Cameron, James Donald, 255.
Cameron, Simon, report, 35.
Canada, 131; seal question, 156; joint commission, 267.
Cannon, George Quayle, 85.
Cards, etiquette of, in France, 150.
Carleton, ——, 258.
Carlisle, John Griffin, 254.
Carlyle, Thomas, 53.
Carmaux, bomb at mines, 187.
Carnegie, Andrew, 124, 137; dinner, 135.
Carnot, Marie François Sadi, 150, 192, 195, 201, 241; receives the minister, 148; reception, 153, 194, 200; Pasteur, 196; assassinated, 251.
Carnot, Maria Pauline Cécile (Dupont-White), 150, 152, 157, 195, 239, 240.
Caron, Rose Lucile (Meunier), 227.
Carrère, Jean, 232.
Cartagena, visited, 248.
Carter, James Coolidge, 7, 141, 225, 235, 237; free trade, 138.
Cartwright, Sir Richard, 267.
Casimir-Périer, Jean Paul Pierre, 152, 192, 231, 235; speaker, 203.
Cass, Lewis, 15.
Castellane, Comte de, 242.
Castellanos, Jacinto, 132.
Cavaignac, Jacques Marie Eugène Godefroy, 226.
Cavour, Camillo Benso, count, 5, 53.
Challemel-Lacour, Paul Armand, 233.
Chamberlain, Joseph, 136.
Chamberlain, Mary Crowninshield (Endicott), 136, 162.
Chambord, Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné d'Artois, comte de, 178, 273.
Chameleons, 97, 98.
"Champignon malgré Lui," 193.
Chanler, John Armstrong, prize, 184.
Chantilly, visited, 221.
Charleston, fire, 37.
Charleton, John, 267.
Chartrain, ——, of Matanzas, 23.
Chartres, Robert Philippe Louis Eugène Ferdinand d'Orléans, duc de, 171.
Chase, Samuel Portland, 34; chief justice, 46.
Chaumont, 178.
Cheney, Person Colby, 131, 262; minister to Switzerland, 205.
Cheverny, 178.
Chicago, objects for exposition, 232; exposition, 244.
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy railroad, engineers' strike, 101.
Childe, Edward Lee, 90, 94, 165, 174.
Childe, E. V., 6.
China, parents go to, 3.
Cholera in Europe, 57, 60, 177; Egypt, 89; Paris, 165, 180, St. Petersburg, 176; Hamburg, 179.
Circourt, Anne Marie Joseph Albert, comte de, 37, 51; quoted, 53.
Clark, Daniel, 124.
Clausel de Coussergues, Jean Claude, 190.
Clay, Cassius Marcellus, 71.
Clemenceau, Georges Benjamin, 193, 214, 236.
Clément, Frédéric Jean Edmond, 241.
Cleveland, Grover, 125, 131, 244, 252, 255; president, 98, 137, 186, 223; financial policy, 254; Venezuela boundary, 256; vetoes immigration bill, 263.
Club of Odd Volumes, Boston, 279.
"Clythera," yacht, 101.
Cobb, Howell, disloyalty, 20.
Cobb, ——, 137.
Cock-fights, Cuban, 23.
Coco, a monkey, 98.
Codman, James Macmaster, in West Indies, 105.
Codman, Mrs., invitation, 47.
Coffee, preparation in Egypt, 93; Guadeloupe, 109.
Cogswell, Milton, 33.
Colombia, railroad in, 245.
"Columbia" and "Shamrock," 272.
Comédie Française, 213.
Comet, 1881, 88.
Comonfort, Ignacio, 15.
Conolly, John Augustus, 45.
Constans, Jean Antoine Ernest, 222, 233.

Constant, Benjamin, 189, 227.
"Constitution" visited, 29; launch, 36.
Consuls, manner of appointing, 179.
Cooke, Josiah Parsons, 97.
Cooke, Jay, & Co., 78.
Coolidge, Algernon Sidney, in Geneva, 3, 42; doctor, 7; in Mexico, 14.
Coolidge, Clara Amory, 151, 155, 279.
Coolidge, Eleanora, 76.
Coolidge, Eleanora Wayles (Randolph), 1, 51, 65; death, 82.
Coolidge, Elizabeth Bulfinch, 3.
Coolidge, Ellen Randolph, 3.
Coolidge, Hetty Sullivan (Appleton), 9, 142.
Coolidge, John, 1.
Coolidge, Joseph, Jr., 1, 51, 65; death, 87.
Coolidge, Joseph Randolph, in Geneva, 3; Dresden, 5; lawyer, 7.
Coolidge, Marian, 56; takes poison, 80.
Coolidge, Philip Sidney, in Geneva, 3; in army, 34; death, 42.
Coolidge, Sarah, 76; birthday, 79.
Coolidge, Thomas Jefferson, Jr., 151, 155; birth, 42; western journey, 84, 258; Old Colony Trust Co., 276; career and death, 278.
Coquelin, Benoît Constant, 236, 238.
Coquelin, Jean, 232.
Coquerel, ——, 74.
Corcelle, François de, comte, 155.
Cotton, price of, 46.
Cottu, Madame, 225, 229.
Courcel, Alphonse Chodron, baron de, 170, 179, 220, 235.
Courval, —— (Ray), 157, 242.
Couvreux, ——, 207, 209.
Cranworth, *see* Rolfe.
Craven, Tunis Augustus McDonough, 73.
Crémieux, Levi, 206, 211.
Crillon, Edward, comte de, 39.
Crocker, Charles, 86.
Cuba, visit to, 21, 120; jingo policy, 262.
Curtis, Benjamin Robbins, 13, 46; unconstitutional laws, 19; anecdote of Webster, 36.
Curtis, Daniel, 182.
Curtis, ——, 172.
Cushing, Caleb, 17.
Cushman, Charlotte, 65.
Custer, George Armstrong, 257.
Cutler, Mary Ann (Mrs. Appleton), 18.
Dahomey, French in, 185.
Dalton, Charles Henry, 262; on park commission, 81.
Dana, Richard Henry, 82.
Darwin, Charles, 27.
Davies, Sir Louis Henry, 267.
Davis, Henry Gassaway, 132, 137.
Davis, George C., 173.
Davis, Richard Henry, 72.
Davis, Jefferson, president, 21; letters of marque, 25; praying for, 48.
Davis, Jefferson Columbus, 49.
Davis, ——, Miss, 190.
Deacon, Edward, case of, 154.
Debs, Eugene Victor, 252.
"Defence of Richmond," 39.
Delfosse, Noël Joseph Auguste, 271.
Democrats, victory, 136.
Depew, Chauncey Mitchell, 173.
Derby, ——, 44.
Dervishes, dancing, 91.
Deschamps, Marie Blanche, 235.
Deschanel, Paul Eugène Louis, 190.
Desprez, ——, 220, 223.
Develle, Jules Paul, 203, 211, 224, 232, 233, 243, Liberian question, 168.
Devens, Charles, 33.
Dewey, George, 263, 266.
Dexter, Franklin G., 9.
Diamonds at Paris, 57.
Diaz, Porfirio, 180.
Dingley, Nelson, 267; death, 268.
Diplomacy, service in, 179.
Dix, John Adams, Secretary of the Treasury, 21.
Dodds, Alfred Amédée, 186, 242.
Dodge City, Kansas, 84.
Dogs in Spain, 70; anecdote, 83.
Dolph, Joseph Norton, 131.
Dominica, W.I., 110.
Draper, William Franklin, 140.
Dresden, schooling at, 5.
Dreyfus claim, 212.
Drouyn de Lhuys, Edouard, 52.
Du Bos, Mrs., 230.
Du Chaillu, Paul Belloni, 27.
Dué, F. G. K., 156.
Dufferin, Harriot Hamilton, Lady, 145, 194, 230, 240.
Dufferin, Lord, *see* Blackwood.
Du Lay, Comte, 242.
Dunbar, James R., 258, 261.

Dupuy, Charles Alexandre, 192, 196, 203, 231, 236.
Duran, Carolus, 189, 242.
Dwight, Edmund, 7.
Dÿck, Ernst Marie Hubert van, 152, 235, 237.

Eagle, Jefferson's horse, 3.
Early, Jubal Anderson, 46, 270.
Eaton Hall, Chester, 50.
"Ebre," 90.
Echegaray, ——, 14.
Eiffel, Alexandre Gustave, 190, 204, 208, 209.
Eiffel tower, struck by lightning, 205.
Eliot, Samuel, school, 76.
Elkins, Mrs. Stephen Benton, 138.
Elliot, ——, 74.
Elm on Boston Common falls, 82.
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 17.
Emin Pasha, 223.
Endicott, William Crowninshield, 136.
Engelmann, George, 44.
Ephrussi, Michel, 239.
Ephrussi, ——, 184, 189.
Essad Pacha, 155.
Estee, Morris W., 123, 127.
Etiquette in France, 145.
Eulalie, Infanta, *see* Borbón.
"Europa," 36.
Europe, visited, 50.
Eustis, Allan, 240.
Eustis, James Biddle, 230, 240.
Eustis, Lydia, 230, 236.
Eustis, Newton B., 231.
Evarts, William Maxwell, 79.
Everett, Edward, 16, 17, 71; on Niebuhr, 26; Highlanders in North Carolina, 28; death, 49.

Fabricotti, count and countess, 182.
Fairbanks, Charles Warren, 267.
Faith and evidence, 18.
Falls Church, Va., visited, 32.
Farragut, David Glasgow, at Mobile, 46.
Faulkner, Charles James, 267.
Fauvel, Pierre Charles Henri, 181.
Felton, Cornelius Conway, 13, 16.
Fernandez, R., 180.
Ferrata, Dominique, 151, 200.
Ferry, Jules François Camille, 222; death, 228; funeral, 231.
Fevrier, Victor Louis François, 200.
Fires, incendiary, at South, 37.
Fish, Hamilton, 16.
Fisher, Sir John, 268.
Fisk & Hatch, 78.
Fiske, John, 274.
Fitts, ——, 113.
Flint, Charles Ranlett, 124, 128, 132.
Floquet, Charles Thomas, 152, 195, 196, 203, 204.
Florida, 265.
Fog, dense, 88.
Foragers in Sherman's army, 48.
Ford, Paul Leicester, "Peter Stirling," 252.
Foreigners in army, 41.
Forestry discussed, 140.
Fort Pillow, taken, 46.
Fort Warren, 15.
Foster, John Watson, 141, 157, 213, 215, 224, 227, 230, 234, 239, 267.
Foster, Mary Parke (McFerson), 173, 224.
Foster, ——, 47.
Fould, Achille, 52, 53.
Fox, Gustavus Vasa, attacking English commerce, 73.
France, war with Germany, 75; in West Indies, 107, 119; minister to, 141; silver conference, 153; Pope's letter on republic, 162; language, 172; farming, 174; in Dahomey, 185; women of, 243; president, 251.
Francis, Sir Philip, 28.
Franklin, Benjamin, imitated, 10.
Franklin, Sir John, remains, 16.
Fredericksburg, McClellan on, 41.
Frénaut, ——, 227.
Freycinet, Charles Louis de Saulces de, 203, 204, 228.
Friday Club, 13, 26, 36, 37, 71, 80.
Fuller, Loie, 227.

Gacia, Pablo Marcia, 23.
Gacquier, ——, 208.
Gage, Lyman Judson, 262.
Gallatin, Albert, 4.
Gambetta, Léon, 228.
Garde-Meuble, Paris, 170.
Gardner, George Augustus, 21, 58.
Gardner, Isabella (Stewart), 7, 132; in Venice, 182.
Gardner, John Lowell, 7.

Gardner, Joseph Peabody, partnership, 9, 14.
Gaston, William, governor, 79.
Gatacre, Sir William Forbes, 273.
"General Pratt," 194.
Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, Isidore, 27.
George, Henry, single tax, 260.
Germany, war with France, 75; troubles in, 241.
Gérôme, Jean Léon, 184, 189.
Gettysburg, battle of, 41.
Giers, N. N., 232.
Gifford, countess of, *see* Sheridan.
Girardin, Émile de, 207.
Glassford, William Alexander, 239.
Gold standard adopted, 275.
Goliad, ——, 226.
Goodale, George Lincoln, 140.
Gordon, George Henry, 32.
Gordon, John Campbell, Lord Aberdeen, 268.
Gordon, Lady Duff-, 95.
Gorham, Mrs. Ben, 7.
Got, François Jules Edmund, 214.
Gowan, D. C., sword, 42.
Gram, ——, 230, 235.
Gramont, Duchesse de, 198, 243.
Grandison, ——, 15.
Granier, ——, 160.
Grant, Ulysses Simpson, Virginia campaign, 46; Ropes on, 269.
Gray, George, 267.
Gray, John Edward, 28.
Gray, William, 13, 39.
Gray, William, Jr., on park commission, 81.
Great Britain, interest in secession, 26; "Trent" affair, 35.
Greene, James Durell, 31.
Grenada, W.I., 112.
Gresham, Walter Quinton, 233.
Grévy, François Paul Jules, 228.
Grinnell, Joseph, 30.
Griswold, J. N. A., 84.
Grotius, Hugo, 27.
Guadeloupe, W.I., 108.
Guilbert, Yvette, 187, 225.
Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume, 52.

Hading, Jeanne Alfrédine Tréfouret, dite Jane, 233.
Hale, John Parker, 66, 73.
Halleck, Henry Wager, 41.
Halphen, diamond merchant, 57.
Hamburg, cholera, 179.
Hamilton, Alexander, 54, 107.
Hamlin, Hannibal, 18.
Hannen, Sir James, 220, 233, 235, 237.
Harcourt, Marquis d', 171.
Harjes, Bertha, marriage, 157.
Harlan, John Marshall, 203, 211, 220, 233, 235.
Harrison, Benjamin, 128, 143, 265; campaign, 104; silver question, 130; character, 131; dinner, 134; re-nominated, 150.
Harrison, Birge, 242.
Harrison, Caroline (Scott), death, 185.
Harrisse, Henry, 183.
Harvard College, Jefferson laboratory, 99; overseer, 100.
"Harvey Birch," burned by rebels, 35.
Haryett *or* Hargett, Elizabeth Ann (Mrs. Howard), 53.
Hasselmans, ——, 236.
Hauteville, Frederick d', 30.
Haven, Franklin, 76.
Haven, Franklin, Jr., 139.
Hayes, Rutherford Burchard, 203.
Head, Sir Edmund Walker, 37.
Heard, Augustine, 3.
Hébrard, François Marie Adrien, 210.
Henderson, John Brooks, 124, 132, 137.
Hendricks, Francis, 180.
Hénin, Princess, 231.
Henry, John, the traitor, 38.
Henry, Joseph, 44.
Hersent, ——, 207, 209.
Herschell, Farrer, Lord, 267; death, 269.
Herz, Cornelius, 193, 214, 229.
Higgins, ——, 242.
Higginson, Henry Lee, 139.
Hillard, George Stillman, 13; quoted, 27; Friday Club, 36.
Hirsch, Miss, 177.
Hitroff, ——, 243.
Hitt, Mrs. Robert Roberts, 136.
Hoar, George Frisbie, 136, 140, 141, 146, 256; Canada relations, 131; on Blaine, 134; in Paris, 171.
Hobhouse, John Cain, Lord Broughton, on Byron, 53.
Hoffman, Mrs. von, 159, 198.
Holbrook, John Edwards, 44.
Hollmann, Joseph, 190, 235.
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 14, 105.

Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Jr., 256.
Holt, Joseph, Secretary of War, 21.
Home Market Club, dinner, 140.
Hooper, Samuel, 34, 76.
Hooper, William Henry, 85.
Hooper, William Sturgis, 21.
Hopkins, ——, 86.
Horses, epidemic among, 77; photographs (Muybridge), 86.
Hosmer, Harriet, 65.
Houssaye, Arsène Husset, dit, 214.
Howard, Oliver Otis, 189.
Howard, Mrs. or Miss, *see* Haryett.
Howlands, Meredith, 94, 97, 198.
Hoyos-Sprinzenstein, L., count, 205.
Hughes, John, 71.
Hunting at Pau, 60.
Hurricane at Lynn, 74.
Huxley, Thomas Henry, 27.
Hydrophobia, Pasteur and, 197.

"Iowa," battleship, 263.
Ireland, feeling against England, 36.
"Iroquois," yacht, 100, 105.
Isabella II, of Spain, 171, 188, 198.
Italy, visited, 59, 64.

Jackson, Chester A., 108.
Jackson, Thomas Jonathan, 271; raid, 40.
Jacques, ——, 227.
Jamaica, W.I., 111, 246.
James, ——, 140.
Jay, Augustus, 148, 155, 156, 184, 187, 231, 234, 240; Legion of Honor, 243.
Jay, Mrs. Augustus, 147, 157, 242.
Jay, John, 134.
Jefferson, Joseph, 256.
Jefferson, Martha, 1.
Jefferson, Thomas, 1, 3, 148; Ticknor's visit, 34; papers, 277; architect, 278.
Jehin, Léon, 235.
Jephson, Arthur Jermy Mounteney, 223.
Jocourt, Comte, 242.
Joinville, François Ferdinand Philippe Louis Marie d'Orléans, prince de, 215.
Jones, John Percival, and his bonanza, 86; discussion, 255.
Joubert, Petrus Jacobus, 274.
Juarez, Benito Pablo, 14.
Judith, Julie Bernat (dame Bernard-Derosne), dite, 214.
Jusserand, Jean Adrien Antoine Jules, 155, 171.

Kantz, Camille, 204.
Kasson, John Adam, 267.
Keenan, Mrs., 201, 230, 236.
Kemble, Fanny, 59.
Kickover, Mrs., 2.
King, Adam E., 236.
King, J. A., 134.
King, John Haskell, 42.
Kitchener, Horatio Herbert, Viscount Kitchener, 274.

La Ferronnays, Alexandrine (d'Alopeus), marquise de, 192, 226, 242, 273.
La Ferronnays, Guillelmine Marie Lucie de, memoirs, 272.
Landau, hire, 144.
Lane, Jonathan Abbot, 139.
Lansing, Eleanor (Foster), 173.
Lardy, C., 201.
La Rochefoucauld, François de, quoted, 45.
La Rochefoucauld, Marie Charles Gabriel Sosthène, comte de, duc de Doudeauville et de Bisaccia, 169.
La Rochefoucauld, Marie de, 171.
"La Touraine," condition, 180, 181.
Laugel, Madame, 215.
Laurier, Sir Wilfrid, 267.
Lavalette, Charles Jean Marie Félix, Marquis de, 52.
Lawrence, Abbott, 9, 166, 172.
Lawrence, Amos Adams, 9, 71.
Lawrence, James, 39.
Lawrence Manufacturing Co., 71.
Le Bargy, Charles Gustave Auguste, 214, 224.
Lee, Mrs. Austin, 194, 223, 226, 232, 241.
Lee, Robert Edward, surrenders, 50.
Lee, William Raymond, 33, 35.
Lefèbvre, Constance Caroline (dame Faure), 214.
Le Grand's, Havana, 21.
Le Hunte, ——, 110.
Lekain, Henri Louis Cain, dit, 214.
Leo XIII, letter on French republic, 162.
Leon y Castillo, Fernando, marqués del Muni, 220.
Le Royer, Elie, 151, 196, 222.
Lesseps, Ferdinand Marie, vicomte de, 89, 91, 190, 204, 206.

Letters of marque, southern, 25.
Leuchtenberg, Duke of, 194.
Lewinsville, Va., visited, 31.
Liberia, territory adjoining, 166, 221.
Limón, visited, 250.
Lincoln, Abraham, election of, 18; goes to Washington, 21; calls for militia, 25; message, 35; reëlected, 46; assassinated, 50.
Lister, Sir Joseph, Pasteur reception, 196.
Llewelyn, Robert B., 111.
Lodge, Henry Cabot, 136, 141, 254, 263.
Loeb, Jacques, 273.
Logan, John Alexander, 49.
Loizillon, Julien Léon, 203.
Long, John Davis, 262.
Longfellow, Frances Elizabeth (Appleton), death, 28.
Loring, Caleb, 165.
Loring, Edward, consul, 70.
Loring, Susie, 165.
Lothrop, Samuel Kirkland, 16.
Lothrop, Thornton Kirkland, 89.
Loubet, Émile, 203; receives, 155, 188, 192, 194; resigns, 193.
Louis Philippe, 52.
Lourdes, visited, 64.
Lovering, William Crovade, 139.
Low, Seth, 264.
Lowell, Edward Jackson, 186.
Lowell, Francis Cabot, 10.
Lowell, James Russell, 13.
Lowell, John, 258.
Lozé, Henri Auguste, Mrs., 162.
Luynes, Honoré Théodore Paul Joseph d'Albert, duc de, 54.
Lyons, Richard Bickerton Pemell, Earl, "Trent" affair, 36, 37, 72.

Macaulay, Thomas Babington, Lord, 53.
McClellan, Ellen Marcy, 220.
McClellan, George Brinton, 44; in command, 30; visits Boston, 39; views on campaigns and principles, 39.
McClellan, Miss, 220, 223.
McClintock, Sir Francis Leopold, 16.
McDowell, Irvin, 40, 86.
McIlvaine, Charles Pettit, 71.
McKim, Charles Follen, 99.
McKinley, William, 136, 137, 140, 262, 264.
Mackintosh, Sir James, 28.
Mackintosh, Robert James, quoted, 28.
McLane, Robert Milligan, 155, 233.
McNiel, Archibald, Highlanders in North Carolina, 28.
Madre, comte de, 179.
Magnolia, Mass., Monticello reproduced, 278.
Mahan, Alfred Thayer, 256.
"Maine," blowing up of, 265.
Malcolm, ——, 241.
Maling, I. C., 108.
Manchester-by-the-Sea, house, 78; library, 99, 100.
Mandas, Duc de, 152.
Manderson, Charles Frederick, 255.
Marcy, ——, 214, 224.
Margherita, queen of Italy, 217.
Marié, ——, 158.
Mariette, Auguste Ferdinand François, 94.
Marriages, foreign, 151.
Mars, Anne Françoise Hippolyte Boutet, dite, 214.
Marsh, George Perkins, 64.
Martha's Vineyard, visited, 30.
Martinez Silva, Cárlos, 123.
Martinique, W.I., 110.
Mason, James Murray, 35, 37.
Mason, Jeremiah, anecdote, 46.
Mason, William Powell, 32.
Maspero, Gaston Camille Charles, 94.
Massachusetts Historical Society, 269.
Massenet, Jules Emile Frédéric, 152, 184.
Matte, A., 194.
Matthioli, Girolama, Iron Mask, 28.
Maury, Matthew Fontaine, 44.
Maverick Bank, failure, 140.
Mavroyeni Bey, recalled, 257.
May day, 240.
Maynard, Isaac H., 245.
Meade, George Gordon, 270.
Meaux, Marie Camille Alfred, vicomte de, 231.
Méline, Félix Jules, 231.
Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Jacob Ludwig Felix, 74.
Mendonça, Salvador de, 132.
Merchants Bank, Boston, 76.
Merrimac River, freshet, 257.
Methuen, Paul Sanford, 273.
Mexía, Enrique A., 123, 128.
Milan, visited, 181.

Miles, Nelson Appleton, 269.
Millers, 179.
Millevoye, Lucien, 226.
Minister, American, and precedence, 146.
Minot's Ledge lighthouse, 15.
Mohrenheim, Arthur Pawlowitsch, baron von, 156, 206, 227; episode, 201, 240.
Mont Blanc, ascent, 55.
Monte Carlo, visited, 219.
Montmorency, château de, 173.
Montpensier, Antoine de, 198.
Montpensier, Antoine Marie Phillippe Louis d'Orléans, duc de, 198, 232.
Montsaulnin, comte de, 151, 159.
Montsaulnin, Charles de, 190, 240.
Montserrat, W.I., 107.
Moore, Joseph S., 104.
Moore, Mrs., 236, 243.
Morel, jeweller, 239.
Morfontaine, 198.
Morgan, John Tyler, 233, 235.
Morse, John Torrey, Jr., on Mr. Coolidge, 279.
Motley, John Lothrop, 71.
Moulton, Mrs. Francis D., 79.
Mounet-Sully, Jean Sully Mounet, dit, 232.
Mouri, ——, 230.
Mulhall, Michael George, 103.
Mulligan, James, 134.
Mun, Adrien Albert Marie, comte de, 189, 226.
Münster, Georg Herbert Münster-Lodenburg, count, 156, 222, 238; dinner, 165, 236.
Murray, ——, 96, 97.
Music Hall, organ, 43.
Musset, Louis Charles Alfred de, 214.

Napoléon III, 52, 65; Cavour and, 53; at Exposition, 65; fall, 75; Comédie Française, 214.
Nashville, Tenn., fire, 37; victory, 46.
"Nashville," at Southampton, 35.
Nassau, visited, 24.
Negroes in the West Indies, 116.
Nelson, Horatio, 28, 107.
Nelson, William, 34.
New Bedford, visited, 30.
Newbold, Thomas, 132, 255, 257; sails for Europe, 89.
New Orleans, explosion, 37; capture, 37.
New Year reception, 200.
New York, draft riots, 42; blizzard of 1888, 101; quarantine, 180; election, 1897, 264.
Nice, visited, 219.
Nicholson, William Rufus, faith and evidence, 18.
Niebuhr, Barthold Georg, memory of, 26.
Nile journey, 91.
Nin, Alberto, 132.
Nisbet, Mrs., 107.
Norfolk, Va., capture, 37.

Oderndoerffer, Hugo, 211.
Old Colony Trust Co., 276.
Olmsted, Frederick Law, 82.
Olney, Richard, 231, 252, 255.
Ormesson, Olivier Gabriel François de Paule Le Fevre, comte d', 142, 148, 202, 225, 227, 232.
Otis, Harrison Gray, 6.
Ovré, Henri, 190.
Owen, Richard, 27.

Pacific Mills, fall predicted, 18.
Palais Royal Theatre, 237.
Palmer, Miss, 97.
Palmerston, *See* Temple.
Panama canal, prosecution, 188, 190, 191, 193, 194, 204; history, 206; visited, 246.
Pan-American commission, 120.
Panic: on Lincoln's election, 19; of 1873, 78; of 1893, 241, 244.
Paper money, 12.
Paris, Bruno Paulin Gaston, 183.
Paris shopping, 51; exposition, 65; in 1881, 89; students, 163, 186; housekeeping, 164; strike of hackney coaches, 176; Grand Opéra, 176.
Park commissioners, 81.
Parker, Theodore, against revivals, 14.
Partridge, William Ordway, 193.
Pasteur, Louis, reception, 195.
Pau, residence, 60.
Pauncefote, Sir Julian, 136, 228, 246; ambassador, 231.
Peacock, ——, 265.
Pegram, Robert Baker, 35.
Pemberton Mills, Lawrence, collapse, 17.
Peninsula Campaign, McClellan on, 41.
Peraza, Nicanor Bolet, 132.
"Pereire," packet, 71.

Perkins, Charles E., 85, 101.
Perkins, William, merchant, 8.
Peru, French claim, 212.
Phelps, Edward John, 225, 235, 237, 238.
Phelps, William Walter, 97.
Philæ, 95.
Phillips, Wendell, 17; inflammatory harangue, 19.
Phipps, E. Constantine, 157, 171.
Phipps, Henry, 137.
Pierce, Benjamin, 44.
Pierce, Franklin, 16.
Pistor, ——, 162.
Plançon, Pol, 224, 232.
Platt, Thomas Collier, 264.
Pless, Prince and Princess, 239.
Pontevès, ——, 235.
Pope, John, 40.
Porson, Richard, 27; pun, 38.
Porter, Albert Gallatin, 215, 229.
Porter, Fitz John, 273.
Post, W., 180.
Potter, Asa, 140.
Potter, John Briggs, 189.
Poubelle, Eugène René, 145, 166, 202.
Pourtalès, Madame de, 242.
Powers, Hiram, statue of Webster, 16.
Pratt family, of Oakley, 7.
Prescott, ——, 274.
Presents on presentation in France, 149.
President, French and American, 251.
Primrose, Archibald Philip, Earl of Rosebery, 227.
Protection, argument for, 102.
Pueblo Indians, 87.
Pugh, James Lawrence, 131.
Pullman company, strike, 252.
Putnam, George, preaching of, 80.
Putnam, ——, 33.
Puvis de Chavannes, Pierre, 189.

Quincy, Josiah, 234.
Quintana, Manuel, 128.

Races, in France, 150.
Rachel, Elisa Félix, dite, 214.
Rainfalls, remarkable, 81, 83; effect of cultivation, 85.
Rameau, ——, 236.
Randall, Henry Stephens, on Webster, 34.
Randolph, Carolina Ramsay, 277.
Randolph, Eleonora Wayles, 1.
Randolph, George Wythe, 42; letter, 35; in England, 49, 51.
Randolph, Martha (Jefferson), 1.
Randolph, Sarah Nicholas, 277.
Randolph, Thomas Jefferson, 277; stops paper, 17.
Randolph, Thomas Mann, 1.
Rau, ——, 206.
Raymond, Alice, 135.
Reed, Thomas Brackett, 135, 136, 140.
Régnier de la Brière, François Joseph Pierre, 214.
Reichenberg, Suzanne Angélique Charlotte, 152, 214.
Reid, Whitelaw, 141, 150.
Reinach, Joseph, 192, 193, 210, 211, 229.
Reis, vow of, 94.
Renan, Joseph Ernest, funeral, 183.
Renault, Léon Charles, 156.
Ressman, C., 173, 190, 230.
Reszke, Jean de, 223, 235.
Revere, Edward Hutchinson Robbins, 38.
Revere, Paul Joseph, 32, 33, 35.
Revilliod, Gustave de (Madame), 59.
Revivals in Boston, 14.
Ribot, Alexandre Félix Joseph, 148, 156, 170, 171, 196, 214, 231, 232, 233; receives, 142; Borup incident, 160; Liberia, 167; treaties, 187; fall, 192, 234; prime minister, 193, 203; Dreyfus claim, 212; attacked, 220, 226, 228.
Ribot, Madame, receives, 149; attacked, 229.
Ricard, Louis Pierre Hippolyte, 192.
Rice, Alexander Hamilton, 74.
Richard, ——, 224.
Richmond, Va., fire, 37; fall, 50.
"Rinaldo," receives Mason and Slidell, 37.
Ritchie, Andrew, Jr., 6.
Road agents, protection against, 86.
Roberts, Frederick Sleigh, Earl Roberts, 274.
Roberts, James A., on tax burdens, 259.
Roche, Jules, 192, 194.
Rodgers, ——, 194, 233, 240.
Rodman, Benjamin, 30.
Rogers, Archibald, 178.
Rolfe, Robert Monsey, Baron Cranworth, 74.
Rome, visited, 216.
Romero, Matías, 128.
Roosevelt, Theodore, 136.

Root, Elihu, 271.
Ropes, John Codman, on Grant, 269; death, 273.
Rothschild, Madame Gustave, 235.
Rouher, Eugène, 52.
Rousseau, Paul Armand, 208.
Rouvier, Pierre Maurice, 194.
Royer, ——, 208.
Rusk, Miss, 173.
Russell, Sir Charles, 220, 231, 235, 241.
Russell, John, Lord, sympathy with South, 26.
Russell, William Augustus, 131, 141.
Russell, William Eustis, 261.
Russell, William H., contractor, 20.
Russell, William Howard, correspondent, 41.
Russia, French affection, 176; seal question, 230.

Saba, W.I., 106.
Sagan, Prince de, 213, 243.
Sagan, Princesse de, 152, 243.
St. Bernard, visited, 59.
Saint-Gaudens, Augustus, 263.
St. Germain, 172.
St. Kitts, W.I., 107.
St. Louis, tornado, 257.
St. Lucia, W.I., 111.
St. Thomas, harbor, 106.
Saléza, Luc Albert, 227.
Salt Lake City, 85.
Sampson, William Thomas, 266.
Samson, Joseph Isidore, 214.
Sanderson, Sibyl (Mrs. Antonio Terry), 152, 184, 194, 201, 227.
Sanford, Henry Shelton, 71.
Santa-Anna, Antonio Lopez de, 28.
Santo, Caserio, 251.
Sapienza, Antonio, dragoman, 91.
Sargent, John Singer, 162.
Sartiges, comte de, 65; funeral, 183.
Saussier, Félix Gustave, 170.
Say, Jean Baptiste Léon, 190, 191, 204.
Schermerhorn, J. E., 199.
Schöns, ——, 232.
School, public, 76.
Schurz, Carl, 133; advice, 39.
Schwann, Theodor, 44.
Scott, Sir Walter, memory of, 26.
Scott, Winfield, 34.
Seal conference, 141, 155, 156, 157, 162, 163, 170, 179, 220, 231, 233, 235, 241; Ribot on, 143; Russia, 230.
Sears, Eleanora (Coolidge), in Paris, 142, 147, 152, 165, 170, 177, 187, 188, 201, 213, 221, 224, 232, 240, 242.
Sears, Frederick Richard, Jr., 143, 151, 170, 177.
Seillière, ——, baron, 159, 213.
Seligman, ——, 190.
Sellon, Jean Jacques, comte de, 5; daughters, 59.
Servant, death of a, 198.
Seward, William Henry, speech, 21; "Trent" affair, 71.
Shakespeare-Bacon cipher, 274.
Sharon, William, 86.
Shattuck, George Brune, 178; in West Indies, 105; reflections on the journey, 115; in the West, 257.
Shattuck, the Misses, 172, 179.
Shaw, Anne (Mrs. George William Curtis), 24.
Shaw, Ellen (Mrs. Francis Channing Barlow), 24.
Shaw, Francis George, 24.
Shaw, Lemuel, unconstitutional laws, 19.
Shaw, Lemuel, Jr., 55, 66.
Shaw, Robert Gould, statue, 263.
Sheep, sacrifice of, 92.
Shepherd, R. D., of New Orleans, 43.
Sheridan, Helen Selina, Countess of Gifford, 255.
Sheridan, Philip Henry, defeats Early, 46; at Chicago, 84.
Sherman, John, 136.
Sherman, William Tecumseh, takes Atlanta, 46; discipline of troops, 47; anecdote, 48; death, 139.
Shiloh, battle, 37.
Siam, French claim, 237.
Siegfried, Jules, 158, 192, 194, 200, 203, 204.
Siegfried, Madame, 227.
Sierra Nevada, 86.
Sigismund, Mordaunt, 200.
Silliman, Benjamin, 44.
Silva, Antonio Francisco, 132.
Silva, Carlos Martinez, 123, 132.
Silver, free, 99, 254, 255; Pan-American Conference, 123; bill, 136, 138; England and, 139; conference, 153, 173, 191; advice of Eustis, 240; purchase, 244; report on American coin, 285.

Sismondi, Jean Charles Leonard de, 4.
Sitt Miriam chapel, 91.
Slave, whipping of, 3; value in Cuba, 23; confiscating, 41.
Slidell, John, 35, 37.
Smith, Cary, 100.
Smith, William Frederick Haynes, 108.
Smith, ——, captain, 32.
Smythe, James Adger, 253.
Snake charmers, Cairo, 90.
Socialism, 191.
Soinoury, ——, 226.
Soldiers' stores, 33.
Sonderegger, Society, 210.
Sophocles, Evangelinus Apostolides, 47.
Soulacroix, Gabriel Valentin, 227, 232.
South Carolina, secedes, 19; cotton mills, 253.
Southerners at Harvard College, 7.
Spain visited, 66; war with, 265.
Spurzheim, Johann Christoph, Audubon's head, 37.
Stanford, Leland, 86.
Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn, 66.
Stanley, Lady Augusta Bruce, 66.
Stanley, Henry Morton, 223.
States rights, at North, 40.
Stein, ——, baron, agent of Liberia, 167.
Stephens, Alexander Hamilton, vice-president, 21.
Stone, Charles Pomeroy, 32, 33; in Egyptian service, 91, 98.
Story, Emma Eames, 201.
Strong, ——, 84.
Studebaker, Clement, 124, 132, 135.
Sturgis, Russell, 50.
Substitute, cost of, 43.
"Sumter," 73.
Sura, ——, 230.
Süsskind, ——, baron, 172.
Switzerland, schooling, 3; visited, 54.
Syndicate Jacob, 210.

Talbot, Thomas, on honor, 80.
Talcott, Andrew, 14.
Talleyrand, Marquise de (Curtis), 158, 174.
Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de, 54.
Talma, François Joseph, 214.
Tanesy, ——, 232.
Taney, Roger Brooke, 34.
Tariff, appeal in 1888, 102; of 1897, 263.
Taussig, Frank William, 258, 261.
Taxation, burden of, 103; commission, 258.
Taylor, Zachary, quoted, 28.
Temple, Henry John, Viscount Palmerston, "Trent" affair, 71.
Tenerani, Pietro, 65.
Tennant, Emma Alice Margaret, 239.
Terence, Lord, 190.
Territories gained from Spain, 266.
Thayer, Nathaniel, 50.
Theodoli, Lily (Conrad), marchesa, 216.
Thierrot, Madame, 165.
Thiers, Louis Adolphe, 52.
Thomas, Gaillard, treats Marian for poison, 81.
Thomas, George Henry, 46.
Thompson, Sir John Sparrow David, 220, 235.
Thurston, Lord, on "Paradise Lost," 36.
Ticknor, George, 13; Friday Club, 26; on Jefferson, 34; launch of the "Constitution," 36.
Tilton, Theodore, attack on Beecher, 79.
Timmins, George Henry, 60.
Tipping in England, 51.
Tirard, Pierre Emmanuel, 200, 203.
Tocqueville, Alexis Henri Charles Maurice Claurel, comte de, 52.
Totten, Joseph Gilbert, 44.
Tracy, Benjamin Franklin, 264.
Treasury, Secretary of the, 262.
Treat, ——, 189.
Treaty, with France, extradition, 187, 199, 221, 227; reciprocity, 187, 199, 212.
Trelawny, Edward John, 53.
"Trent" affair, 34, 71.
Trescot, William Henry, 124, 129.
Trinidad, W.I., 112.
Trousseau, Armand, 58.
Tucker, Baron de, 232.
Tucker, William Warren, 89.
Turin, Count of, 216.

Umberto I, of Italy, 218.
United States and the West Indies, 117.

Valente, J. G. do Amaral, 132.
Vegetarianism, 10.
Velarde, Juan Francisco, 123.
Venezuela boundary, 256.

Venice, poverty, 182.
Venosta, visconti, 230, 231, 235.
Véron, Louis Désiré, anecdotes, 38, 45.
Vibraye, Marquis de, 178.
Vicksburg, taken, 41.
Viette, Jules François Stanislas, 203, 232.
Viger, Albert, 203.
Vignaud, Henry, 142, 148, 151, 156, 172, 199, 201, 202, 231, 240.
Villafranca, peace of, 52.
Vincent, Lady Helen, 236.
Virginia, roads in, 2.
Vivian, Sir Hussey Crespigny, Baron, 219.

Waddington, Charles, 158.
Waddington, William Henry, 158, 228, 232.
Wadsworth, James Samuel, 31.
Wagram, Prince, 242.
Walker, Francis Amasa, 139.
War, extravagant cost, 33.
Ward, Aaron, 148.
Warren, Charles Henry, 12.
Warren, ——, 74.
Washington, George, Ball's statue, 46.
Washington, forts near, 31.
Washington monument, lightning, 205.
Webster, Daniel, Powers' statue, 16; visit to Jefferson, 34; anecdote, 36.
Webster, Sir Richard, 220, 231, 235.
Weed, Thurlow, 71.
Weld, Stephen Minot, 262.
Welles, Gideon, report, 35.
Wellesleys, ——, 90, 94.
West, Mrs. Cornwallis, 239.
West Indies, visited, 105; Dr. Shattuck on, 115; hurricane, 271.
Wéyler y Nicolau, Valeriano, 266.
Wheeler, ——, 105.
Whipple, ——, 221.
White, Andrew Dickson, 183.
White, Henry, 155, 156.
Whitehouse, Mrs., 157.
Whitney, William Collins, 261.
Wichita, Kansas, 84.
Wilkes, Charles, Trent affair, 34, 71.
Williams, Oscar Fitzalan, 191, 236.
Wilson claim, 212.
Windom, William, death, 139.
Winter, Sir James, 267.
Winthrop, Robert Charles, 49, 71, 105.
Winthrop, ——, 158.
Wise, Henry Alexander, 17.
Wolcott, Joshua Huntington, 60, 76.
Wolcott, Roger, 60, 258, 263, 269.
Wolff, Johannes, 236.
Worden, John Lorimer, 134.
Worms, Gustave Hippolyte, 224.
Wyke, ——, 237.
Wyman, Jeffries, 44; names gorilla, 27.

Zegarra, F. C. C., 132, 135.
Zelaya, Jerónimo, 123, 132.
Zichy, countess, 226.

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